BOURGEOIS BALKANS:
WORLD-BUILDING IN BELGRADE AND SOFIA
1830-1912

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the transformation of urban life in the Balkan capitals of Belgrade and Sofia between 1830 and 1912. In the nineteenth century, mayors, planners, doctors and intellectuals envisioned a new, urban society in which progressive social transformation could emerge through a combination of political and economic institutions based on expertise. I explore the ambitions and limits of this "bourgeois world-building" through three constitutive processes: the production of space, the gendered transformation of intimate labor, and the re-calibration of state violence. With the advent of autonomous rule, the Balkan capitals were reconstructed as "European" cities through dispossession, real-estate speculation and municipal corruption. For architects, merchant capitalists, and municipal officials, the post-Ottoman city appeared as a landscape of accumulation, a vision often frustrated by its failure to materialize in full. Medical professionals and police officials envisioned the city as a space of managed, commodified intimacy, yet found limits in expanding institutional control over sex workers, domestic servants, and other working women. Activists and state actors were likewise frustrated in their attempts to create productive urban subjects through scientific policing and prison labor. Ultimately, the application of bourgeois visions was both intensive and costly, limited by the scope of elite ambitions and the struggle of those who were excluded from them.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1905 Belgrade, the fourth-grader Desanka K. Borisavljević wrote a memento in the poetry book of her ten-year old friend, Milica: “Everything wanes everything crumbles / even the cold stone itself / from the past all we have left / is a single memory”.[1] Most of Milica's peers wrote of the weight of unstoppable time, which progressed forward leaving behind nothing but memories.[2] The withering of flowers, whose pressed shapes and tiny drawings adorn the little notebook, were a common metaphor in the schoolgirls' notes. Like many of their elders, the children of fin-de-siècle Belgrade were preoccupied with decay.

Dust and decay appeared in artistic, personal and professional writing throughout the second half of the long nineteenth century. The changing Balkan city served as a common frame of reference for novelists, schoolchildren, bohemian playwrights, and upstart urbanites reflecting on the world.[3] The dust of unpaved streets, crumbling brick, and rotting wood exemplified the changing social relations that made up the shared world of Belgraders and Sofiaites. Along with many others, these local residents witnessed the reconstruction of Balkan capital cities in the aftermath of Ottoman rule. The nineteenth-century experience of uncertainty, in which new forms became antiquated just as soon as they arrived, made memories into a post to which one could tie a sense of self.[4]

1 Various. *Poesie*, (1903-1907). Historical Archive of Belgrade (IAB), f. 1119 k. 136. br. 1, l. 57

2 Another classmate, Dobrila P. Jovanović, wrote: “Like a flower which falls / overpowered by dark autumn / so does our life whither away / but eternal memories remain. Ženika Ruso wrote that memories were the only flower which didn't whither, while Desanka D. Lazarević wrote of the times when “all fails man, his life and his strength”. *Poesie*, l. 50, 19 and 21

3 Dragutin Ilić, “Slike Starog Beograda I - Berberin Kraljevića Marka,” Unknown. Archive of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences (ASANU) No. 10644. Not paginated; Dragutin Ilić, *Posle milijon godina* (Beograd: Narodna biblioteka Srbija, 1988); Georgi Kanazirski Verin, *Sofia predi 50 godini* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo Tehnika, 1992); Svetolik Ranković, *Gorski Car* (New York: Srpska knjižara Bože Rankovića, 1914); Dimo Kazasov, *Ulitsi, hora, sûbitiya* (Sofia; Nauka i izkustvo, 1968)

4 On the role of individual memory, the experience of uprooting and the melancholy of historical reflection in the early nineteenth century, see Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004)

"Bourgeois Balkans: World-building in Belgrade and Sofia 1830-1912" argues that from the Balkan perspective, bourgeois modernity cannot be fully captured by the oft-quoted image of everything solid melting into air.[5] The urban world that emerged through the binding of human actions and ambitions did more than reveal what for Marx were the "real conditions of life".[6] It also brought to the fore an increasing sense of inability to change the collective circumstances of existence. The people, buildings and neighborhoods had "all vanished!", wrote Belgraders.[7] Sofiaites stopped "dancing the circle dance on the squares", and "melted in this flood of new people."[8] Erasure structured the immense drive seeking to transform Balkan societies, bringing forth a sense of precariousness in which everything solid crumbled into dust and trapped people in the mud.

Resettlement, dispossession and profit circumscribed the conditions under which old cities were to become part of a new, modern world. Mayors, planners, doctors and intellectuals envisioned a society in which progressive social transformation could emerge through a combination of political and economic institutions based on expertise. Because of the myth of national progress, a doctor in nineteenth-century Belgrade could note how the urban dispossessed danced gleefully on the rubble of their burned homes.[9] Engineers, municipal officials, doctors, policemen and prison wardens all saw the city as a space where social relations

5 For Marhall Berman, to be modern was to "be part of a universe in which, as Marx said 'all that is solid melts into air'," defined by the contradictions between its creative promises and destructive potential. Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin, 1988), 15

6 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto: A Modern Edition* (London and New York: Verso, 1998), 39

7 Ilić, Not paginated

8 Kanazirski-Verin, 26

9 Bartolomeo Kunibert. *Srpski Ustanak I Prva Vladavina Miloša Obrenovića,* translated by Dr. M.R. Vesnić (Beograd: Štamparija D. Dimitrijevića, 1901), 364; Others argued with sincerity that residents volunteered to burn their houses, after being given new, sturdy ones in a different neighborhood. Todor Stefanović Vilovski. *Postanak Savamale - Prvi Pokušaj Regulisanja Srpske Varoši U Beogradu 1834. - 1836.* (Beograd: Državna štamparija kraljevine Srbije, 1911), 8

could be rebuilt, modeled after visions of new social order.

Some social and economic historians have interpreted these nineteenth century attempts as failures to transform society thoroughly, interrogating what Dubravka Stojanović has called "the vicious cycle" of incomplete modernization.[10] Others have attributed economic failure to insufficient urbanization in early modern Eastern Europe or the historical heritage of authoritarian rule.[11] Yet, did this experience of urban change look different from the perspective of the cities' residents themselves?

The transformation of Balkan cities made people think of a reality that crumbled into dust, of rain and mud that stuck to you and made you disordered and ill, of being tainted by backwardness and corruption. The themes of mud and dust appear in an extraordinary breadth of period genres – novels, minutes of council meetings, plays, memoirs, and public reports.[12] Their authors' perception contrasted sharply with the vision of social order which the new urban spaces were meant to usher. According to city officials, national and municipal institutions were supposed to turn Sofia into the "model of all other cities," a "mirror of Bulgarian culture and a pattern of all progress."[13] In Belgrade, urban reconstruction was planned "so that all that is

10 Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma i Asfalt : Urbanizacija I Evropeizacija Beograda 1890-1914* (Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2008), 363; For a summary of her thesis in English, see: Dubravka Stojanović, "Unfinished Capital – Unfinished State: How the Modernization of Belgrade Was Prevented, 1890–1914," *Nationalities Papers* 41, no. 1 (2013): 15–34

11 Tibor Iván Berend, *History Derailed: Central and Eastern Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century* (University of California Press, 2003); Brian M. Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), particularly Chapter 6, pp. 140-156

12 Consider for example the extraordinary breadth of genres in which mud and dust appear as descriptors of the urban contemporary – novels, municipal debates, memoirs, and public reports. Ranković, 132-3; "Nastilanieto na Sofiyskite ulitsi," *Spisanie na bûlgarskoto inzhinerno-arkhitektno druzhestvo*, Jan-Feb 1911,11; Nikola Nestorović, *Građevine I Arhitekti U Beogradu Prošlog Stoleća* (Beograd: Institut za arhitekturu i urbanizam Srbije, 1972), 72; Petûr Orakhovats, *Sanitarnata Organizatsiya i Sanitarnoto Sûstoyanie na Gr. Sofiya* (Sofia: Pechatnitsa i knizharnitsa Sv. Sofiya, 1899), 14; *Beogradske Opštinske Novine*, 20.3.1911, 49

13 In addressing his fellow city council members, N. Manov said that Sofia's development "it should serve as a model for all other cities in Bulgaria" *Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik*, 26.8.1889, p. 1, Asen K. h. Kermekchiev, *Nashata stolitsa – neynoto blagoustroystvo i ukrasyavanie "Pro Sophia Artibusque,"* (Sofia: Pechatnitsa

advanced, beautiful and good should cling on to us," while electoral posters promised to make Belgraders go "on the right path, the road of unitary and honest work."[14] For many, however, the city had more in common with the "viscid, weighing mass of the unpaved street".[15] Mud and dust was what Sofiaites "deserved," for relying on corrupt municipal leaders to pave their streets and build sewers.[16] Belgraders were stuck in mud so deep "the Moon itself couldn't pull them out."[17] Modeled after elite visions, urban transformation weighed heavily on the minds and bodies of residents. Mud was an intimate metaphor that bound together the reality of municipal corruption, impoverishment, precarity and urban dispossession.

In the following four chapters, elite ambitions and the consequences of their actions are explored across different social realms - neighborhood and street, brothel and tavern, police station and prison. "Bourgeois Balkans" makes sense of these complex social changes by engaging discourses of urbanization and progress through a set of theoretical concepts. The scope and limitations of planners' visions is examined under the umbrella of "world-building," which I discuss in greater detail below. In addition, each of the four chapters relies on a separate conceptual lens in order to engage different aspects of nineteenth century social transformation. My reason for doing so is to bringing insights from different disciplines in conversation with one another, in order to understand the city as a product of different and often contradictory social forces.

Dnevnik, 1907), p. 9,

14 Lj. Nikić. 'Prelazak Emilijana Josimovića u Srbiju 1845. godine' *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, XXIV (1977), 35, ASANU 1905. No. 9822

15 Ranković, 144

16 "Kal i prah," *Sofiyski novini* 18.2.1906, 3

17 "Beogradskom amo tamo" *Brka*, 17.10.1885, 2

Conceptual Apparatus And Historiographical Intervention

In order to bring together a seemingly disparate set of phenomena attributed to nineteenth-century urban transformation, I employ the concept of world-building. World-building is best known in the science-fiction and fantasy community, where it is understood as the construction of an imaginary universe with its own physical properties, geography, myth and history, nature and people. It is a concept with substantially less academic traction than the related ideas of world-making and lifeworlds, from which it differs in two crucial points.[18] Contrary to both world-making and lifeworlds, world-building is a holistic practice of designing a universe in which all parts relate to one another.[19] This is often achieved through a set of collective myths (an "origin story") or through an external force which binds the constructed universe together. World-building also does not depend on any self-evident basis, and requires that the basic postulates of the world are set by its creators.[20] To build a world means to consciously strive to create a taken-for-granted social existence.

For Balkan planners, local contractors, medical professionals, policemen and municipal officials, the remaking of urban society was a collective, holistic process of world-building. Their visions of re-making the city brought together the various material interests and desires of different groups. Planners and engineers created institutions that privileged their knowledge and made it central to the project of erasing Ottoman urban forms, propagating ideas of aesthetics,

18 Some recent exceptions are: Allison Kavey, ed., *World-building and the Early-Modern Imagination* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Mark J. P Wolf, *Building Imaginary Worlds: The Theory and History of Subcreation* (New York and London: Routledge, 2014)

19 World-making involves an enterprise of self-fashioning through which the subject forms itself by relating to the world. It does not require a holistic view, and can emerge out of struggle against seemingly immutable postulates. See: Jerome Bruner, "Self-Making and World-Making" *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 25, No. 1 (Spring 1991): 67-78;

20 Lifeworlds, as defined by Edmund Husserl, represent those things which are experienced as given and self-evident, the background against which congition takes place. Edmond Husserl, *The Crisis of the European Sciences and Transcedental Phenomenology* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970), 142

order and cleanliness that signaled Europeanness. Municipal officials profited from this restructuring of urban space, aligning their interests with local contractors who sought lucrative government contracts to jump-start production. Medical professionals sought to place themselves at the center of redefining how gender and labor would intersect in new urban spaces, developing new schemes of control over working women's bodies. Police chiefs formulated ideas of propriety and property, propagating fantasies of population management and a national economy of control. The Balkan bourgeois was made through world-building, a complex interactive process between different visions meant to transform society. When such designs failed, their execution left real, material consequences.

Constructing fiction is integral to the functioning of capitalism. Capitalist accumulation depends on a number of them, for example: things appear to have intrinsic and commensurable value as commodities, contracts are entered through free individual choice, those who work are remunerated for the full product of their labor, private property does not emerge from force. The circuit of capital also depends on obscuring the extra-capitalist origins of its primary accumulation, which Marx likened to the Christian doctrine of "original sin."[21] In Marxist thought, primary accumulation involves the accumulation of wealth and the concentration of the means of production on one side, and the dispossession of people from their means of subsistence, on the other. This material relation propelled classical economists to engage in world-building, creating an origin story in which mythical ancestors worked harder than others or discovered fantastical lands bereft of indigenous people. Historically, such stories have obscured and justified immense violence.

In nineteenth-century Balkan capitals, origin stories were made manifest through

21 Karl Marx, *Capital Volume I*, trans. Ben Fowkes (London: Penguin, 1990), 873

monumental spaces which cemented the historical narrative of urban progress. In Belgrade's central square, an 1882 equestrian monument to Prince Mihajlo Obrenović points south towards Ottoman territory, inscribed with the names of six cities absorbed by the Serbian state during his reign. Behind it lies the monumental State Mortgage Bank (1903), with the building of the National Theater (1869) to its right. The space of the square embodies the narrative continuity between the expulsion of Muslims from the city, projects of urban reconstruction, and Serbia's expansionist policy in the Balkan Wars. In Sofia, another equestrian monument built in 1907 commemorates the Russian Emperor-Liberator Alexander II, overlooking a central square facing the National Assembly (1885). The grid which frames the monument is a product of street regulation during the mayorship of Dimitûr Petkov (1889-1894). Sofia's Imperial Court is an Ottoman governor's palace, heavily remade to European standards by Habsburg architects. The city’s center is marked off either by monuments to national liberation or projects of urban renewal built during Petkov's mayorship.[22] It was during the second half of the nineteenth century that development, progress and national myth were inescapably bound in the urban fabric of the two Balkan capitals.

22 These spaces roughly follow the four points of the compass, with some discrepancies due existing urban geography. To the east, the city center is bounded by the 1895 monument to Vasil Levski, a rebel leader hung by the Ottomans in 1873 and a central figure in the Bulgarian nationalist pantheon. To the west lies the 1882 “Russian monument,” dedicated to the Russian Emperor and Liberator of Bulgaria, Alexander II. To the north and south west are two bridges built in 1891. The Lion's Bridge is a re-modeled Ottoman bridge spanning the northern Vladaya river, memorizing four Bulgarians hung by the Ottoman authorities in the aftermath of the 1876 April Uprising. The Eagle's Bridge spans the southern Perlovska river and commemorates the site where prisoners of war returning from captivity in Anatolia entered the city in 1878.

Illustration 1: Four women and two men dressed in peasant clothing stand in front of the Monument to Prince Michael, at Belgrade's Theater Square (1898). Three plaques on the monument are visible, containing the names of cities which came under Serbian jurisdiction in 1867.

Illustration 2: A person looks up at Sofia's Tsar Osvoboditel Monument. The image most probably dates from sometime in 1906, as the front of the bottom base remains unfinished. The two single-story buildings to the center left and extreme right are the only remaining structures in the area predating the city's late nineteenth-century reconstruction under mayor Petkov.

National histories have imbued nineteenth-century urban dispossession, street regulation, renewal projects, and slum-clearing with mythical origin. This myth bound together liberation from Ottoman rule with the cleansing of an "Orient within," and a "return to Europe."[23] Such visions, however, represented more than new-found nationalism. They also involved utopian notions of progress and modernization based on another myth, the "invisible hand" of the free market. In Belgrade and in Sofia, taking over urban space through immediate acts of dispossession coincided with and depended on the calculation of property values. For the Balkan bourgeoisie, destroying the Ottoman city and building national capitals was not a goal in itself, but the first step on a path to industrial modernity.

The combined growth of cities, trade, and industry was a priority for new Balkan nation-states. In 1833, the Serbian prince Miloš hired landowner Dimitrios Tirol and merchant Emanuel Solar to write a report on the economic prospects of Belgrade.[24] Although the city was still under the control of the Ottoman administration, Tirol and Solar composed an exhaustive, highly optimistic treatise. The two men imagined Belgrade as the port center of European trade linking Northern Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Black and Red Seas, and the Atlantic Ocean. They envisioned a whole set of industries rising from Belgrade's newly significant position, from new ways to extract value from animal products (Serbia's largest export) to the transformation of existing cottage industries into full-fledged industrial production. The plans of Tirol and Solar required heavy government intervention into the establishment of social institutions and the

23 Such forms of myth-making depended on the creation of an internalized Other onto whom one's own "conservative and primitive" character could then be projected, what Milica Bakić Hayden has called "nesting Orientalisms". See: Milica Bakić-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia." *Slavic Review* 54, no. 4 (1995): 917–31; See also: Mary C. Neuburger, *The Orient Within: Muslim Minorities and the Negotiation of Nationhood in Modern Bulgaria* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011)

24 Archives of Serbia (AS). Kneževa Kancelarija (KK), XL 14.12.1833, br. 135

building of infrastructure. Their ambitions extended much further from the Balkans, as they included a rail link between the Danube and the Main rivers, connecting North Atlantic ports with the Black Sea and the Middle East.[25] Three and a half decades later, Belgrader engineer Emilijan Josimović employed similar ideas of increased trade and fortuitous positioning to justify his urban plan. To many elites, the city appeared to be a natural command center of the state apparatus and a guiding force of national economic transformation.

In many ways, these attempts were failures. Neither Belgrade nor Sofia became large metropolitan capitals of vast nation-states. They were large cities, indeed, yet continued to preside over territories smaller than their imagined national domains. Their primary economic function in the global division of labor remained the export of agricultural products to Western Europe. Bulgaria and Serbia were agricultural economies throughout the nineteenth century, exporting livestock and grain to the West while importing its manufactured products.[26] While some industry developed, it did not become a dominant part of the gross social product. The dominant trend in contemporary historiography has been to search for the causes of "incomplete modernization" within these processes.[27] Such an approach, however, ignores the world-

25 Their visions were prescient in some ways – a year after the report was completed, work began on the Ludwigskanal, which linked the Danube and the Main in southern Germany. The canal was completed in 1846, but its use fell sharply with the development of railways. The Danube-Rhein-Mein canal waterway would revitalize the water route in 1992, although its trade volume downriver was severely hampered by international sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

26 The major exports of Serbia throughout the nineteenth century were livestock and animal products, with major imports being industrially manufactured commodities. Between 1847 and the 1880s, 70-90% of exports were livestock, mostly to Austria-Hungary. After a tariffs dispute broke trade ties with Vienna, Serbia shifted in part to the production of grains, without developing substantial industry. See: Nikola Vučo, *Privredna istorija Srbije do Prvog svetskog rata* (Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1955), 184-5, 224-5 With a brief exception between 1860 and 1880, the case was the same in Bulgaria. As late as 1911, four fifths of Bulgaria's exports were grains and three quarters of its imports factory-produced items from Western Europe. See Section 4 "Ikonomika" in Roumen Daskalov, *Bûlgarskoto obshtestvo 1878-1939*, vol. 1, (Sofia: IK Gutenberg, 2005), in particular pp. 339-341

27 The incomplete modernization thesis is most clearly laid out in studies which emerged during the post-socialist transition, which defend the application of neoliberal economic measures. The best examples are Michael Palairet, *Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914: Evolution without Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Rumen Avramov, *Komunalniyat kapitalizûm: Iz bûlgarskoto stopansko minalo* (Sofia: Centûr

historical circumstances which made industrial growth in Western Europe possible.[28]

Asking why the Balkan bourgeoisie failed to build a world in the image of their Western counterparts is misguided. The pursuit of local interests was limited from the outset by the global political economic context. The creation of the Balkan states was dictated by the Great Powers, who even installed members of their own aristocracies as rulers. Bulgarian autonomy and Serbian independence were conditioned upon opening up or maintain regimes of free trade, including infrastructural improvements to better support market penetration from abroad.[29] In the late nineteenth century, Russian narodniks and Bulgarian socialists outlined clearly the limits to Balkan industrialization in their debates: no access to colonial resources and markets, competition from West European production, and the inability to employ protectionist measures.[30] The socialist Dimitûr Blagoev lucidly put forth the only likely path for merchant and money-lending capital: internal social transformation and the creation of a local market through dispossession. The geopolitical circumstances which gave rise to global capitalism also conditioned the inward perspective of the Balkan bourgeoisie**.**

za liberalni strategii, 2007)

28 The world-historical circumstances of the origins of capitalism have been much debated. See: T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin, eds. *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For a Euro-centric interpretation of the rise of the West and a critique of its trajectory, see: Jones, E. L. *The European Miracle: Environments, Economies, and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia*. (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Blaut, James M. *Eight Eurocentric Historians*. (New York: Guilford Press, 2000)

29 The terms of Bulgarian autonomy required the country to remain within the system of low tarrifs and open trade (the so-called "capitulations") established by a bankrupt Ottoman state under pressure from West European powers after the Crimean War. Bulgaria was also responsible for repaying a portion of Ottoman debt to foreign creditors. Serbian independence was conditioned by its participation in the construction of a railway connecting Western Europe to the Middle East. The route of the railway was determined by Austro-Hungarian interests. Bulgaria had to reimburse foreign investors for portions of the track already built on its territory during the Ottoman period. The route was mostly funded by Austro-Hungarian banks and determined by foreign interests of market access.

30 See the debates between Prokopiev and Bratanov (pseudonims of the Russian Bakuninist narodnik Vladimir Debagoriy Mokrievich and the founder of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, Dimitûr Blagoev). *Lŭcha*, Year 1, No. 14, p. 7, as cited in Zhak Natan, *Ikonomicheska istoriya na Bûlgariya*, vol. 2, (Sofia: Pechatnitsa 'Bratstvo', 1938), 59; For a summary of the debate from the perspective of the Bulgarian socialists, see: Dimitûr Blagoev, *Prinos kûm istoriya na sotsializma v Bûlgariya* (Sofia: Partizdat, 1976), 366-374

Yet, bourgeois ambitions were limited from below as well. Planners were frustrated by the inability to execute their visions of re-ordering society, and increased application of force often produced unintended consequences. Engineers were chased away from surveying streets, sex workers evaded forced medical examination, and prisoners attacked their guards. In urban settings, those excluded from world-building did not accept the terms of resettlement, avoided being arrested, refused to go hungry without stealing, and escaped prison. In rural areas, the defense of small landholder agriculture worked much to the same effect.[31] Continuous class struggle was an important limit to bourgeois world-building, one that vexed planners and contractors alike.

World-building weaved social fiction to accommodate the designs of disparate groups into an expression of bourgeois class interests. Yet, what happened when those designs failed to materialize? What was the price of relentlessly pursuing social transformation? The following four chapters highlight some of these costs. The struggle that characterized bourgeois world-building in the Balkans was a constantly shifting urban landscape, shaped by forces of dispossession, clientelist corruption, police and municipal violence. When I describe this transformation as "dust and mud," I borrow the metaphors of those who witnessed the latter stages of this transformation. While the comparison at times betrayed the bourgeois frustration of "too little, too late," for many it also highlighted a sense of inescapability.

31 This has been interpreted in national historiography as a vestige of Ottoman rule and hence a hindrance to development. However, particularly in eastern Bulgaria, the move of peasants to lands formerly owned by large landholders had taken place after the Russo-Turkish War expelled Muslim landholders from large areas of arable land. In Serbia, migrants to the mostly abandoned countryside cleared forest, often putting themselves into conflict with merchant interests, which relied on forests as a feeding grounds for pigs. In both cases, such forms of resistance also increased class stratification within the peasantry. In Bulgaria, many peasants were pushed into debt after the Congress of Berlin forced the squatters to pay for expropriated land. In Serbia, wealthier peasants and priests were best positioned to benefit from forest clearing. See: Natan, *Ikonomicheska ...*, 38-40 and Uroš Stanković. "Crtice o primeni i izmenama uredbe o šumama (1857)" *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta*, 47, No. 4, (2013): 405-415

This image appears bleak on purpose, excluding the novelty brought about by urbanization and social disruption. Certainly, many Balkan urbanites have found poetic beauty in the new cities they came to inhabit, something that recent studies have well-documented.[32] I have chosen, however, to pursue a polemical intervention into the largely uncritical historiography of urban change**.** While scholars of the contemporary city have long approached processes of urban change through a critical lens, historians have employed the concept of "modernity" to offer more optimistic readings of nineteenth-century urbanization.[33] Yet, as Mark Steinberg's recent study of fin-de-siècle Petersburg shows, the modern was seen in darker hues outside the West European metropolis, described as sickness, disenchantment and masquerade across the social spectrum.[34] I follow Steinberg's exploration of "the times" as a historical object in part by interrogating the shifting material circumstances that propelled Balkan urbanites to describe their daily lives in terms of dust and mud.

During the socialist period, much of Bulgarian and Yugoslav scholarship described urbanization and modernity in laudatory terms, reading Marx's description of primary accumulation as a recipe book for the establishment of contemporary social relations.[35] This

32 These have included recent reprints of memoir literature, for example: Rayna Kostentseva, *Moyat roden grad Sofiya* (Sofia: Riva, 2008); Kosta N. Hristić, *Zapisi jednog Beograđanina* (Beograd: Prosveta, 2011); Kostentseva's memoir includes a reprint of a 1912 photo album by Dimitûr Karastoyanov. Other works have emphasized the architectural beauty of the fin-de-siecle city. Divna Đurić Zamolo, *Graditelji Beograda 1815-1914* (Muzej grada Beograda: Beograd, 2009); Lyubinka Stoilova, et al., *Österreischische architektur-einflüsse in Sofia in Jahrhundertwende – Avstriyski arhitekturni vliyaniya v Sofiya v kraya na XIX nachaloto na XX vek* (Sofia: Muzey na istoriya na Sofiya, 1998); See also the "Fading Sofia" project of the Research Center for Social Sciences at Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski": Maiya Grekova. "Za Nas – Izchezvashta Sofiya." Accessed July 26, 2016. http://fadingsofia.rcss.eu/index.php.

33 These studies are almost always based on a handful of West European and American cities. See: Miriam R. Levin at al., *Urban Modernity: Cultural Innovation in the Second Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010); Richard Dennis. *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); For a summary of contemporary critical urban theory, see: Neil Brenner, et al., *Cities for People, not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City* (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), 268

34 Mark D. Steinberg, *Petersburg Fin-de-Siècle* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011)

35 This has particularly been the case since the 1970s, when nationalist discourses began to be prevalent within

developmentalist bias in many ways belies the commonality between certain interpretations of historical materialism and contemporary neo-liberal agendas.[36] Often based on West European and American models, such optimistic readings of social transformation obscure the immense costs of urban change under capitalism.

In the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels captured the experience of modernity with an image of reality melting away and bringing people to their "sober senses." The Manifesto was written in Brussels, where industrial production could be perceived to transform the world in meaningful (albeit contradictory) ways. In West European capitals, the immense spatial capacities of capitalist development were made possible through highly displaced forms of restructuring and violence, dependent on the interplay between colonial dynamics and metropolitan projects.[37]

In Belgrade and Sofia, however, there were no arcades to serve as the drawing rooms of proletarian masses.[38] In the late 1840s, neither city had a population above thirty thousand people, smokestacks did not dot the cityscape, and there were no grand avenues. Unlike their British, German or American counterparts, nineteenth-century Belgrade and Sofia did not grow through an influx of factory workers, but clerks, servants, apprentices, domestic workers, day

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socialist historiography. Roumen Daskalov has categorized this period as the "Stalinist era" of Bulgarian historiography, Roumen Daskalov, *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans: Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival*. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004), 19-21. Especially in his later writings, Marx firmly rejected this premise, seeing his account of the enclosures in England and Ireland as emerging in a particular historical context, and arguing that the same dual conditions of the concentration of the means of production on the one hand, and the dispossession of the peasantry on the other could lead to different outcomes in different historical circumstances. See: Kevin B. Anderson, *Marx at the Margins: On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), especially "Late Writings on Non-Western and Precapitalist Societies," pp. 227-229

36 Johanna Bockman, *Markets in the name of socialism: The left-wing origins of neo-liberalism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011)

37 On the uneven nature of capital's historical spatial development, see: Neil Smith and David Harvey, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008)

38 Walter Benjamin, *Arcades Project* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2002), p. 879

laborers, and the unemployed.

Historians of Eastern Europe have characterized the comparative lack of industry in the region as a sign of belated development, debating the reasons for this "temporal lag" vis-a-vis Western Europe.[39] Others have employed the concepts of entangled history and alternative modernities to complicate this teleological narrative, stressing the role of contingency and divergence in shaping historical paths.[40] What would the history of the Balkans look like if we rejected the basic premises of this debate? What if "modernity" (or rather, capitalism) was something universal, synchronous but fundamentally uneven? How would the link between capital and urbanization appear from the perspective of nominally independent, mostly agrarian economies? What spaces does capital make in societies where the dominant mode of production is not capitalist accumulation? How would such stories be told?

This dissertation explores such questions through a critical history of urbanization in two Balkan societies. When I discuss the plans of municipal officials, engineers, doctors, and policemen, my focus is not on their lives, as elite discourses have already been examined by other scholars.[41] The following four chapters juxtapose the builders of bourgeois worlds to the urban precariat, i.e. those whose lived experience was shaped by insecurity, not only of labor

39 For an overview, see: Daniel Chirot, *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe: Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages until the Early Twentieth Century*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991)

40 Augusta Dimou, *Entangled Paths Towards Modernity*. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009), Isa Blumi, *Reinstating the Ottomans: Alternative Balkan Modernities, 1800-1912* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

41 "Part IV: Elite Projects, Divergent Realities" in Hannes Grandits, et al., *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: The Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and Nation-Building (*London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 2011), Roumen Daskalov and Diana Mishkova, eds., *Entangled Histories of the Balkans*. Vol.II *Transfers of Political Ideologies and Institutions*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014); Peter Vodopivec and Aleš Gabrič, eds., *The Role of Education and Universities in Modernization Processes in Central and South-Eastern European Countries in 19th and 20th Century*, (Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2011), Diana Mishkova, "Modernization and Political Elites in the Balkans before the First World War", *Eastern European Politics and Societies*, 9, No. 1 (1995): 63-89; The literature in local languages is too broad to list here.

relations but also living quarters, access to public space, bodily autonomy, free movement and life.[42] My focus is on processes of urban change which shaped the lives of forcibly resettled people, sex workers and those accused of selling sex, prisoners and criminalized populations. In much of Marxist scholarship, these populations have comprised the lumpenproleteriat, a group easily prey to reactionary ideology because of its estrangement from the practical experience of communal labor.[43] I privilege their experience over those of industrial workers in part because socialist historiography has studied the proletariat extensively.[44] However, this dissertation also invites a less rigid separation between the two, especially in spaces off-center, where such boundaries have always been porous.[45] The precarity which characterized the lives of Balkan urbanites was predicated on extra-economic forms of accumulation, i.e. processes which depend on the direct application of force. I have chosen to focus on three such processes: urban dispossession, the commodification of intimate labor, and the production of carceral space.

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42 The precariat is a contested concept, which has received much critique in recent scholarship. My use stresses the shared experience of uncertainty brought about by capitalism, while foregoing Guy Standing's arguments for structural difference from the working class. In this, I partly follow points made by Richard Seymour in: Richard Seymour. "We Are All Precarious - On the Concept of the 'Precariat' and Its Misuses." *New Left Project*. Accessed July 26, 2016. http://www.newleftproject.org/index.php/site/article_comments/we_are_all_precarious_on_the_concept_of_the_precariat_and_its_misuses; See also: Guy Standing, *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class* (London, UK ; New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014) For a critique of Standing's interpretation, see: Jan Breman, "A bogus concept?" *New Left Review.* No: 84: November-December 2013, pp. 130-138;

43 The role of the lumpenproleteriat was one of the key issues in the Marx-Bakunin debates of the 1870s. The concept has had a long history, the lumpen being embraced into the revolutionary fold by Mao, Frantz Fanon and the Black Panther Party. For a dogmatic Marxist overview, see the entry in Tom Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992), 327

44 Socialist historians have largely studied the lived experience of industrial labor in relation to workers' movements, for example: Dimitûr Blagoev, *Polozhenieto i borbite na rabitnicheskata klasa v Bûlgariya* (Sofia: Profizdat, 1980); Ivan Klincharov. *Istoriya na rabotnicheskoto dvizhenie v Bûlgariya* (Sofia, 1928), Kiril Lambrev. *Rabotnicheskoto I profesionalnioto dvizhenie v Bûlgariya, 1891 – 1903.* (Sofia: BAN, 1966) *See* also the 1970s series by the Institute for the History of the Workers' Movement in Serbia (Institut za istoriju radničkog pokreta Srbije), in particular: Jovan Dubovac, *Štamparstvo i grafički radnici u Srbiji : 1831-1941* (Beograd: Rad, 1975), Mladen Vukomanović, *Sindikalni pokret u Srbiji 1903-1914* (Beograd: Zapis, 1979) Social and economic histories also cover the conditions of the working class, such as Nikola Vučo, *Razvoj industrije u Srbiji u XIX veku* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka I umetnosti, 1981) and *Raspadanje esnafa u Srbiji* (Beograd: Istorijski institut SANU, 1958)

45 Ronaldo Munck, "The Precariat: a view from the South" *Third World Quarterly*, 34, no. 5, (2013): 747-762

While I do not argue that these three held a singular capacity for social transformation, I see them as particularly revelatory of the scope and limits of bourgeois world-building.

I utilize "dispossession" as the selective denial or removal of the means of subsistence. My use is influenced by the work of David Harvey and his concept of "accumulation by dispossession," which describes a wide range of processes involving the centralization of wealth and land by means of forcible transfer from the broader public to the few.[46] Critiques of Harvey have pointed out that his model insufficiently differs from simple theft as it fails to describe the emergence of a dispossessed proleteriat.[47] However, as Harvey and others before him have pointed out, dispossession does not take place solely within the context of a national economy.[48] In an unequal world, how do we conceptualize attacks on the means of subsistence when they do not result in proleterianization? In the case of Serbia, for example, dispossessed urban dwellers and migrants from the countryside were not pushed to industrial enterprises in part because the country's dependency on exporting agricultural resources to Austria-Hungary, limited the ability of local capital to expand industrial production. Furthermore, dispossession and labor exploitation don't necessarily need to be bound in the same geographical space. In Sofia, urban transformation linked predatory lending from foreign banks, local dispossession through street regulation, and labor exploitation in West European heavy industry. Ellen Meiksins Wood has criticized Harvey for failing to delineate the boundary between the "inside" and "outside" of capitalism.[49] Yet, if we consider such "outsides" as integral to the expanded reproduction of

46 See: Chapter 4: "Accumulation by Dispossession" in David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 137-183

47 Such criticisms were outlined in *Historical Materialism* vol. 14, No. 4 (2006)

48 See Rosa Luxemburg's discussion on the realization of surplus value in: Rosa Luxemburg, Chapter 26 "The Reproduction of Capital and its Social Setting" in *The Accumulation of Capital* (1913), https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1913/accumulation-capital/ch26.htm

49 Ellen Meiksins Wood, "Logics of Power: A Conversation with David Harvey," *Historical Materialism*, 14, no. 4, (2006): 9-34

capital world-wide, then the costs of such a system include not only the exploitation of labor, but a host of other extra-capitalist systems of violence.[50]

In my discussion of sex work in the nineteenth century Balkan capitals, I also employ the concept of "intimate labor" in order to qualify extra-capitalist processes of gendered exploitation. My use of the concept follows the work of contemporary sociologists on paid activities considered to "naturally" belong outside the market, as unpaid women's work or work of low economic value.[51] Intimate labor involves personal contact, the provision of care, support and physical intimacy. Marxist feminist scholarship has emphasized how unpaid intimate labor, termed "reproductive," becomes part of capitalist accumulation through the reproduction of labor power. Yet, intimate labor also enters the market through direct commodification, such as in the case of sex work. For many nineteenth-century observers, the ability to pay for sexual services marked the experience of modern urbanity.[52] It is tempting to analyze the commodification of intimacy as a simple expansion of the commodity form onto all spheres of social life.[53] However, commodified intimacy historically takes place in the context of social reproduction based on gendered exploitation. I argue that for many sex and service workers, remunerated intimacy represented a point on a continuum of providing care. By unraveling how medicalization and reglamentation brought increasing precarity to intimate laborers, the third chapter of this

50 On the historical continuity of this relationship, see *The Commoner,* No 2: Sept 2001, http://www.thecommoner.org, in particular Massimo Angelis, "Marx and Primitive Accumulation: The continuous character of capital's 'enclosures'"

51 Eileen Boris and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas eds., *Intimate labors: Cultures, Technologies, and the Politics of Care*. (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2010), 2

52 Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994)

53 See for example the point by Marx that "Prostitution is only a *specific* expression of the *general* prostitution of the *labourer*, and since it is a relationship in which falls not the prostitute alone, but also the one who prostitutes – and the latter's abomination is still greater – the capitalist, etc., also comes under this head." Marx, Footnotes for Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/footnote.htm#fn31

dissertation explores limits to bourgeois visions for the ubiquitous exploitation of commercialized intimacy.

In the last chapter of this dissertation, I use the term "carceral space," to describe the spatial expression of state violence and techniques of subjugation. I borrow the term from carceral geography, an emerging sub-discipline of human geography. This field primarily studies spaces of incarceration, their geographical distribution and their relationship to the state.[54] I examine these themes by exploring the role of prisons in Balkan urban transformation. I also depart from present scholarship by emphasizing the long history of carceral logic in the making of the urban spaces, through the adoption of anthropometric techniques and scientific policing during the late nineteenth century. I argue that carceral spaces did not involve prisons alone, but also all social institutions which made the existence of prisons possible, including scientific policing, cataloguization, surveillance, and identification. In the Balkans in particular, the adoption of scientific policing and the establishment of prisons was also informed by ambitions to employ such state violence to create productive national economies. Like urban planning, the making of carceral spaces depended on on the false assumption that bodies and populations could be managed without friction. Limited by the resistance of purported subjects, carceral projects were necessarily incomplete, revealing the ambitions and limits of capitalist development.

This dissertation explores the creation of capital cities and capitalist economies in the

54 For a summary of recent scholarship in the field, see Dominique Moran, *Carceral Geographies: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration* (London: Ashgate, 2015); Influential preceding works have been Mike Davis, *City of Quartz : Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. (New York: Verso, 2006), Loic Wacquant, *Prisons of Poverty* (Minneapolis and London, University of Minnesota Press, 1999), Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977)

Balkans through three lenses of extra-capitalist coercion - dispossession, intimate labor and carceral space. Although appearing throughout the dissertation, nationalism is not a central theme in my analysis. In part, this is because the topic of nations and nationalism has dominated historical scholarship on Southeastern Europe.[55] The Yugoslav wars of the 1990s have probed historians to critically examine nation-state formation, and sophisticated efforts to theorize nationalism in the region already exist. My focus is on aspects of nineteenth-century history which have received less scholarly attention in recent years.[56] Without downplaying its significance for historians, I also seek to move beyond the nation in understanding the post-Ottoman Balkan context. For all their emphasis on national differences, late-nineteenth century Balkan capitals looked and functioned very much the same. This dissertation is a critical exploration of those broad similarities and the historical context in which they emerged.

Political And Economic Context

The long nineteenth century fundamentally transformed the political landscape of the Balkans. In nationalist historiography, it is qualified as a century of liberation, in which a series of armed rebellions of subjugated Christian peoples, beginning with the two Serbian uprisings (1804-1813, 1815-1817) and the Greek War of Independence (1821-1832), started a chain-reaction of Ottoman retreat from Europe. This retreat continued during the Russo-Turkish War

55 Anastasia N. Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870-1990*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Robin Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Daskalov, *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans*; Vesna Drapac, *Constructing Yugoslavia: A Transnational History*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), Keith Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed: The Romanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1860-1914*. (Bucharest: Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 1999) and *A Nation Discovered: Romanian Intellectuals in Transylvania and the Idea of Nation, 1700-1848* (Bucharest: The Encyclopaedic publishing house, 1999); Maria Todorova ed., *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*. (London and New York: Hurst, 2004); Maria Todorova, *Bones of Contention: The Living Archive of Vasil Levski and the Making of Bulgaria's National Hero*. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009)

56 There are a few recent exceptions, although all within the paradigm of "modernity." See: Ivaylo Nachev and Zornitsa Veilnova, *Sofiya i balkanskata modernost (1878-1914)* (Sofia: Riva, 2016); Nataša Mišković, *Basare Und Boulevards: Belgrad Im 19. Jahrhundert*. (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2008)

(1877-78) and was completed in the Balkan Wars (1912-13), when the Ottomans were forced back to a rump of European territory in Eastern Thrace.[57] In actuality, the redrawing of the map of the Balkans was a contested process which emerged out of the interplay of national movements, imperial plans, and Great Power interests.

Serbia and Bulgaria emerged as nation-states after an initial period of autonomy, established in the aftermath of armed conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. Treaties brokered in 1830 and 1878, respectively, created vassal monarchies under the nominal authority of the sultan. In the Serbian case, edicts of autonomy excluded six cities maintained as border garrison towns. In 1867, these six cities were transferred to Serbian authority five years after significant riots in Belgrade forced an international intervention, events further discussed in the first chapter. In 1878, the Treaty of Berlin also assigned the sanjak of Niš to a now independent Serbian kingdom. The same treaty established a Bulgarian state, creating two autonomous, but connected provinces – Bulgaria (fully autonomous) and Eastern Rumelia (ruled by a Christian governor appointed by the Porte). In 1885, the two provinces were joined into a united Principality of Bulgaria. After the 1908 Young Turk revolution in Istanbul, Bulgaria declared independence with the support of Great Powers whose interests extended to Ottoman territory.[58]

57 This is a rough narrative that has significant regional variations, sketched out roughly as follows: In Serbia, it is framed as part of a wider story of a national anti-imperial struggle for liberation against "foreign invaders," including Habsburg rulers in Bosnia and north of the Danube. In Bulgaria, it is a story of cultural revival, armed liberation and "betrayal," the largest being the Great Powers' refusal to honor the treaty of San Stefano (1878) and include Macedonia in the new nation state. For Greece, early successes in the Balkan Wars and the First World War were followed by the Great Catastrophe – the loss of Anatolian possessions and massive population exchange with Turkey. In majority-Muslim Albania and Bosnia, the demise of Empire is characterized as an unfortunate consequence of Ottoman inability to modernize, and the impetus for the emergence of national consciousness. In Turkey, Kemalist doctrine paints the demise of empire in similar terms. A broad overview of the emergence of collective discourses and their relationship to national liberation and modernity, see: Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopecek, eds., *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe 1170-1945*, vol. 2 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2007) and Ahmet Ersoy, Maciej Górny and Vangelis Kechriotis, eds. *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe 1170-1945*, vol. 3 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2010)

58 Following Bulgaria's declaration, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Hercegovina, which had been its

Serbia and Bulgaria joined Greece and Montenegro in 1912 to wage an offensive war against the Ottomans, splitting most of the Balkans between themselves. This was quickly followed by another war in 1913, this time between the former allies. The Balkan nation-states and the Ottomans all entered the First World War with irredentist aspirations and complex relationships of financial and political dependence on the Great Powers.

What was the socio-economic context of such massive changes, and how were Belgrade and Sofia positioned in the face of these political events? Both cities began the nineteenth century as small towns on the periphery of the provinces they purportedly presided over. In the European part of the Ottoman Empire, their population was dwarfed by Istanbul, the imperial capital where half a million people lived in 1830.[59] Other Ottoman provincial centers were substantially larger as well. Bucharest was probably the second largest city in the European territories with between 80 and 100 000 inhabitants, while Cairo was the second largest Ottoman city overall with 250 000 residents.[60] Belgrade and Sofia were several magnitudes smaller from these centers of Ottoman urban life and trade. While historians have debated exact numbers, anywhere between 10 and 20 000 people lived in the two cities in the first decades of the nineteenth century. In the Ottoman context, Belgrade and Sofia were thus comparable in size to a large number of small provincial capitals.[61]

protectorate since 1878, while Greece proclaimed unification with Crete. These events took place in the context of growing conflict between imperialist powers, including the first Morrocan crisis, the Russo-Japanese war, and the Anglo-Russian Convention on Persia.

59 The city's population would surpass a million inhabitants by the end of the nineteenth century. Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914*. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 103

60 David Turnock, “Bucharest: The Selection and Development of the Romanian capital” *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 86, no. 1 (April 1, 1970): 59; Philippe Fargues cites 254 679 residents for 1848, based on unpublished census data. Philippe Fargues, “Family and Household in Mid-Nineteenth Century Cairo” in *Family History in the Middle East: Household, Property, and Gender,* ed. Doumani, Beshara (SUNY Press, 2003), 28

61 The population of Belgrade and Sofia was comparable to smaller provincial centers, such as Beirut, Skopje, Drama, or Jerusalem. Ulrike Freitag, et al., *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*. (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 27; Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 28; Ruth Kark and

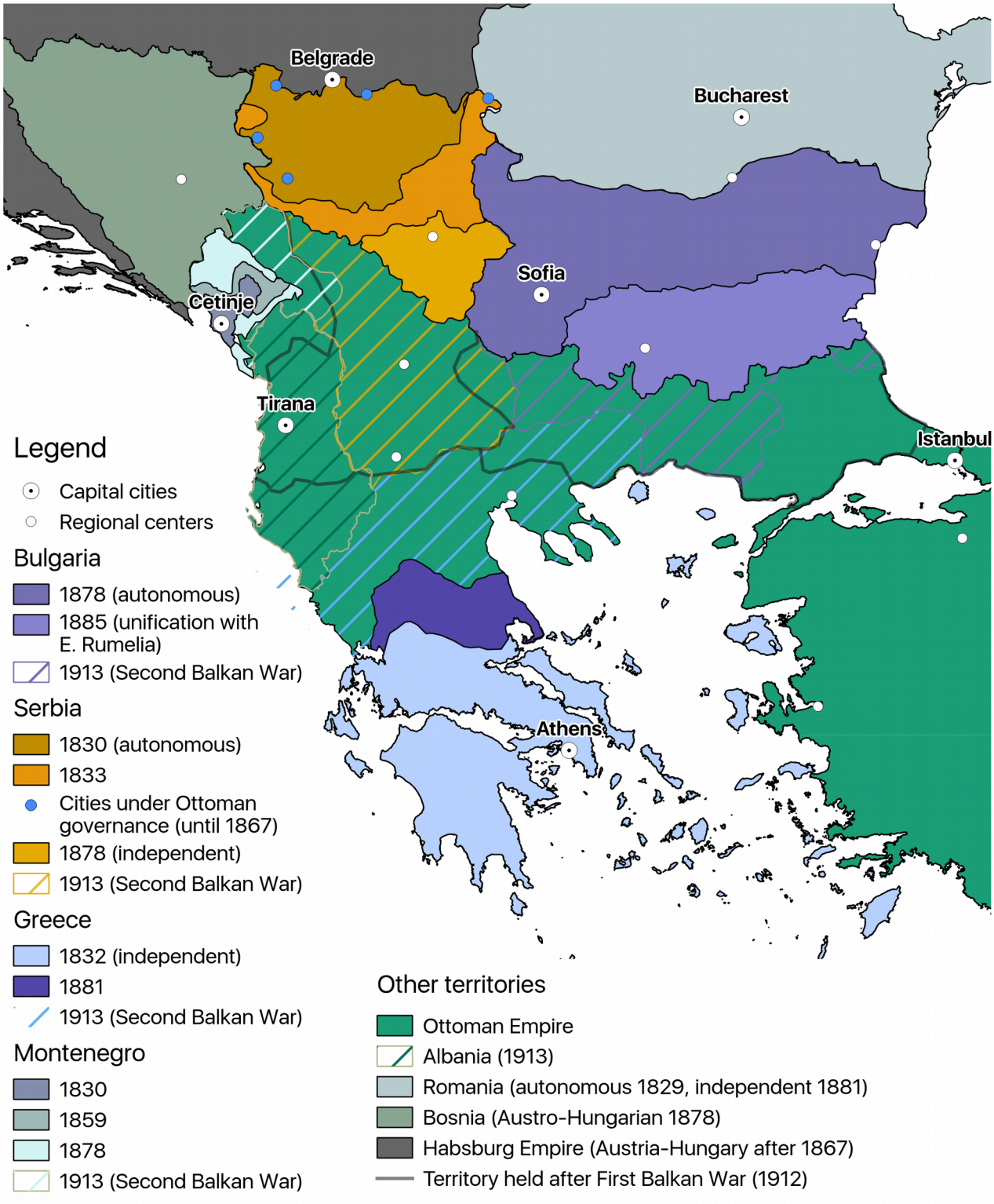

Illustration 3: Political changes in the Balkans 1830-1913.

Michal Oren-Nordheim, *Jerusalem and its environs: quarters, neighborhoods, villages, 1800-1948.* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 28

By the first half of the nineteenth century, Sofia was a regional administrative center, marginal to the flows of trade, social and economic change in the eastern Balkans. A century prior, the region had witnessed a decline of the fief-holding *timariot* system which was superceded by tax farming (*iltizam*) and large estates called *çiftliks,* which produced agricultural goods for the market.[62] North and south eastern Bulgaria had become major agricultural exporting regions, supplying Istanbul and the Levant with grain and, increasingly after 1840, the French market.[63] Expansion of production took place in urban settings as well, where Christian craftsmen were becoming increasingly differentiated and tied to exports.[64] Sofia remained on the outskirts of these large economic changes, suffering further from a series of earthquakes in 1818 and 1858.[65] In 1867, a decade before national autonomy, Sofia was a medium-sized town, fifth in Bulgaria in terms of the number of inhabitants. It trailed behind Ruse and Varna, both major port cities connected by the French-owned Oriental Railway. Sofia was also smaller than Plovdiv, Svishtov, and Shumen, all centers of early textile, braid-making and rose-oil industries. In the partial censuses of 1873-74, the Sofia region had the second lowest urban population in the Danubian Vilayet.[66] The consequence of these late Ottoman transformations marginalized Sofia, and the city remained a small regional center into the 1870s.

Sofia became the political center of a larger territory only with the establishment of an

62 The historiography regarding the decline of the timar system is broad and varied. For a bibliographical overview of the classical schools of thought, see: Haque, Ziaul. "Origin and Development of Ottoman Timar System: A Bibliographical Essay." *Islamic Studies* 15, no. 2 (1976): 123–134. See also debates in: Keyder, Çağlar, and Faruk Tabak. *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*. SUNY Press, 1991.

63 Donald Quataert "The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914" in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Halil İnalcık, et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 850

64 John R. Lampe and Marvin R. Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950: From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 139-45

65 The earthquake of 1858 was particularly destructive, with aftershocks hitting the city over a period of two weeks. An contemporary, Sava Filaretov writes that : "There is no mosque, church, *konak*, barracks, baths, inn, or house in the city left uninjured..." *Tsarigrafski vestnik*, 1.11.1858, p. 2

66 NBKM. Oo. Salname-i Tuna vilayet-i, Ruscuk, br. 017 cited in Nikolai Todorov, *The Balkan City 1400-1900.* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1983), 322

autonomous Bulgarian state in 1878. The effects of this decision on the city's population were tremendous. In 1881, Sofia had 20,856 residents, but by 1910 the number rose five-fold to 102,812.[67] In 1900, 62.5% of its residents had migrated from elsewhere.[68] Following Sofia's proclamation as the capital, initial attempts to reconstruct the Ottoman city core remained perfunctory, due to the lack of funds and coercive mechanisms to acquire large swathes of land. As discussed in the second chapter, it was the availability of West European finance capital and heavy industry that helped municipal officials and contractors transform Sofia's cityscape. If in the late 1860s Sofia had cheaper real estate than a dozen other Bulgarian cities, by 1890 it was going through a construction boom. While extensive, this reshaping of the city depended on foreign loans, which mostly engaged West European heavy industry. Local contractors, in league with their Western counterparts, depended on private deals with corrupt municipal officials. Based on funneling public money into private hands, this major project was successful in transforming Sofia into a national capital, yet ultimately failed in making the city a center of industry and trade.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, Belgrade was an administrative and military center of a depopulated area suffering from war. The province had been the theater of three Habsburg-Ottoman conflicts in the eighteenth century and several uprisings at the turn of the nineteenth.[69] Although these uprisings had different goals, they all emerged out of the context of class conflict between local Muslim fief-holders and Christian well-to-do peasants, most

67 For an overview of population rise, see table in Georgi Georgiev, *Sofiya i sofiantsi*, (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1982), 61 Sofia grew ten times faster than the rest of the country, where migration from abroad (mostly Thrace and Macedonia) led to a population rise of 50% in the same time period

68 Atanas Ishirkov. “Naselenie na Sofiya (Etnografiya i statistika: Fizionomiya na grada)” in *Yubileyna kniga na grad Sofiya, 1878-1928* (Sofia: Knipegraf, 1928), 10

69 The city had been occupied by the Habsburgs twice in the eighteenth century, both times returning to Ottoman control.

livestock traders. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the tax-farmer pasha Osman Pazvantoğlu and the former Habsburg soldier and livestock merchant Karađorđe Petrović both launched separate campaigns to rule over Belgrade and its province.[70] In the First Serbian Uprising (1804-1813), the Petrović-led troops succeeded in conquering the city, but were severely crushed by reprisals from the imperial center. The first uprising was followed by a localized tax rebellion, which was crushed by a coalition of Christian peasant merchants and Muslim notables, formerly opposed to one another. In 1815, the livestock merchant and rebel Miloš Obrenović turned once again against Muslim notables. The Second Serbian Uprising was more limited in its ambitions than the first, and Miloš was succesful in gaining tax-collection privileges, exclusive fief-holding rights and legal authority over non-Muslims. His administration gradually converted tax farms and fiefs into private property, while encouraging settlement on the mostly abandoned territory. In 1834, Belgrade's population had fallen to roughly 12 000 people, while autonomous Serbia had only 700 000 people.[71] For Serb merchants and Habsburg colonists who made up the new state administration, Belgrade and its hinterland represented an opportunity for expansion.

The administration under prince Miloš considered Belgrade's potential as a capital due to its large trading port, yet the city's unclear political status put such plans in jeopardy. Together with five other cities, Belgade remained under direct control of the Ottomans. During Miloš' rule,

70 Osman Pazvantoğlu was a former mercenary, tax-farmer and rebel against Ottoman rule who founded a statelet (1793-1807) with its headquarters in Vidin, downriver from Belgrade. He minted his own money, maintained good relations with Greek Enlightenment revolutionaries, and established diplomatic relations with Napoleon Bonaparte. His troops sought to conquer Belgrade in 1793, but were repelled by a Christian military force in service of the sultan.

71 The tax census data we have for Belgrade in 1834 gives us 7033 residents, but this excludes Muslims and Roma who weren't taxed by the Serbian administration. My assessment of is based on 4000 Muslim residents noted three decades later, as it is unlikely that the number of Muslims grew in the context of Serbian autonomous rule. The Jewish population of roughly 1500 people was ostensibly taxed, but it is unclear whether or not it is included in the count for Belgrade. For the Serbian population, the 1834 census cites 668 856 people again excluding non-Christians, who comprised somewhere around 35 000 people in total. See: Knjažestvo Srbija, *Državopis Srbije*, vol. I, (Beograd, 1863), 88 compiled and printed in Leposava Cvijetić, "Popis stanovništva I imovine u Srbiji 1834 godine" *Mešovita građa - Miscellanea*, Vol. 13, (1984): 9-118

the Serbian capital remained 150km to the south in the smaller town of Kragujevac. Commercial and political interests on the part of Prince Miloš and other Serb merchants helped propel an early set of interventions in Belgrade's urban fabric, however, intended to increase the city's economic potential. These included the reconstruction of the Savamala neighborhood, discussed in the first chapter. As the authority of Miloš and his heir Mihajlo vaned, Serbian politics came to be dominated by a group of merchant elites known as the Constitutionalists. Seeing Belgrade as a potential commercial hub and the core of a new state, they installed a new ruler and proclaimed the city as the Serbian capital in 1841. In the next two decades, the Constitutionalists' ambitions remained unfulfilled in spite of the two-fold rise in the city's population, as Belgrade continued to be on the margins of European flows of trade.

Belgrade and Sofia both grew into large national capitals in the nineteenth century, yet their growth offers a different perspective on urbanization than the dominant narrative influenced by the history of West European cities. Industrial production, while not negligible, never became dominant in shaping the urban political economy. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Belgraders were mostly government employees and clerks, merchants, servants, day laborers, craftsmen and women, sex workers, the unemployed, swindlers, and vagrants.[72] Factory workers did live in the two cities, yet formed a much smaller part of the population. Just prior to the Balkan Wars, Belgrade had 52 factories, and Sofia 44, hiring anywhere between two and three thousand people.[73] Nineteenth century urbanization was not the result of the labor demands of private capital, but state efforts to ignite the furnaces of an industrial economy.

72 Milka Jovanović, "Socijalno-ekonomska struktura Beograda posle odlaska Turaka 1867. godine do prvog svetskog rata" in *Istorija Beograda*, Vol. II, ed. Vasa Čubrilović (Beograd: Prosveta, 1974), 548

73 Danica Milić, "Privreda Beograda" in Čubrilović, 353; D. Yurdanov. "Sofiya kato industrialen centûr" *Yubileyna kniga*, 246

Such statistics only paint a partial picture, which necessarily instrumentalizes human lives for the purpose of social analysis. As discussed in chapters three and four, boundaries between "productive" or industrial, and "reproductive" or intimate labor, often depended on porosity between social categories. Regardless of the ways in which we interpret the social make-up of Belgrade and Sofia, it is clear that both cities depended on the interplay between two levels. Above stood various government-supported enterprises meant to funnel the country's agricultural surplus into the remaking of the national capitals and thus, into private hands. Forced resettlement, urban renewal, the development of factory quarters, waterworks and hygienic regulations were all attempts to use state power to transform society in the image of Western Europe and for the benefit of the wealthy. Below stood an increasingly proletarianized petite bourgeoisie and the lumpenproleteriat, the urban dispossessed whose existence was more and more precarious.

In the Balkans, the bourgeois coalesced from the "conquering Orthodox merchant," Habsburg Bürgers that dreamed of nation-states of their own, the early industrialists of central Bulgaria, and activists in the struggles for national liberation.[74] Their Bulgarian and Serbian names, *grazhdani/građani*, signified national citizens and sophisticated city-dwellers at the same time.[75] Politically, they sought to remake social landscape into a nation state defined by individual rights based on citizenship, private property and party politics. Economically, their

74 On the rise of Christian Balkan merchants in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Ottoman Emprie, see Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant." *The Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (1960): 234–313. On Habsburg Serb Bürger state-making designs see: Dušan T. Bataković, "A Balkan-style French Revolution? The 1804 Serbian Uprising in a European Perspective" *Balcanica* XXXVI (2005): 113-128

75 The term originates from *grad*, a Slavic word originating from the term for enclosure and fortress, but increasingly becoming an exclusive word for "city" by the nineteenth century. Perhaps the closest word to građanin/grazhdanin in meaning is the german Bürger, but includes in South Slavic languages the notion of the urban dweller as the carrier of cultural and social order, as opposed to the backward and primitive peasant.

goal was the building up of infrastructure to “catch up” with Europe. From mass politics to the development of industry, cities were ascribed a commanding role in the establishment of bourgeois social order.

The first two chapters of my dissertation explore the development of bourgeois urbanism through the literal production of dust. From two asynchronous but related perspectives, I examine the crumbling dismantlement of old Ottoman urban cores and attempts to reconfigure them as spaces of accumulation. I see such changes as the terrain of bourgeois world-building: experimental spaces for scientific and hygienic endeavors, a showcase of civilizational progress, ideal spaces of a well-functioning economy, and sites of profit-making. The effects of those transformations on the urban fabric were violent, multiple and disorienting. The burning of Belgrade's Savamala quarter in 1834, the expulsion of the city's Muslims in 1862, the destruction of Sofia's Ottoman core between 1884 and 1892, the resettlement of people, municipal corruption and financial speculation represented the “viscid, weighing mass” of mud on the boots of Balkan urbanites.

In the first chapter, “The City in our Hands – Belgrade 1830-1867,” I discuss how the interests of merchant capitalists coalesced with Habsburg-educated planners and engineers in order to make possible the dispossession and expulsions that shaped modern Belgrade. While historians have seen such changes as a part of national liberation and concomitant modernization, I argue that the history of urban dispossession in Belgrade reflects bourgeois ambitions to remake the urban social order. In the mid-nineteenth century spatial production was at the center of these attempts, which sought to restructure the city for the purposes of trade and industry. The seeds of this transformation were based on the burning of some 170 homes in the Savamala

neighborhood in 1834, which was remade into a new quarter for clerks and government officials meant to manage the national economy. After Belgrade became the Serbian capital in 1841, growing municipal institutions created a legal framework for systematic dispossession and the build up of a real-estate market. Yet, changes remained piecemeal, in part because attempts to regulate other quarters in the outskirts of the city met resistance from the local population. Tensions between ambition and reality came to the forefront in 1862, when a large-scale riot resulted in the expulsion of the Belgrade's Muslim population. As a result of riots, the city's managerial class managed to purchase almost half of the city's housing stock in bulk, enabling the execution of a project to remake the city center. Interrogating the historical background to the 1862 riots, this chapter explores the intertwined and contested history of dispossession, municipal expertise, and profit as tools of urban transformation in nineteenth-century Belgrade.

The second chapter, "Model of All Cities – Sofia 1860-1901," examines the historical context, local and transnational linkages embedded in the remaking of the Bulgarian capital's cityscape during the last decades of the nineteenth century. I begin this genealogy of Sofiaite urbanism by highlighting the late Ottoman context of Tanzimat reforms, in which Christian merchants and proto-industrialists began to shape urban politics. Following the Russo Turkish War (1877-8) and the proclamation of national autonomy, these Bulgarian elites were joined by Habsburg and German-educated experts. Together, they executed the first systemic dispossession in Sofia, tearing down the housing of Muslim refugees who had left the city during the fighting. In the following decades, this coalescence of scientific and municipal interests executed a complete reconstruction of the city, tearing down and rebuilding hundreds of buildings each year. Funded by loans from British, German and Austro-Hungarian banks, Sofia elites turned the city

into an infrastructure of accumulation. An entire class of clerks, politicians, and experts funneled public money into the private hands of Bulgarian contractors and West European factory owners. Ultimately, the urban transformation of Sofia took place through a system of concessions, real-estate speculation and municipal corruption which expanded income disparity and increased the country's dependency on foreign financial institutions.

The following two chapters examine urbanization as a restructuring of social relations by exploring the changing boundaries of gender and state violence. Bourgeois world-building involved various spaces circumscribed by force, from the street in which the imagined urban subject could encounter sex workers and con-artists, to spaces of erotic entertainment and prisons, where bodies were subjected to different, yet profound mechanisms of control. These structures of violence were resisted in various ways, from avoiding registration with the authorities to escaping from prison. Instead of separate social developments attached to an ephemeral modernity, I see the emergence of such diverse phenomena as integral to the urbanization of Balkan society.

The third chapter of my dissertation, "Toil, Work and Then – Gender and Sex Work in the Balkan City" examines the emerging commodification of intimate labor in nineteenth century urban spaces. Caught within this process were migrants, servants, domestic and sex workers, whose social positions and circumstances often determined the success of their struggles against commodification. In spaces of erotic entertainment - variety parlors, burlesque shows and brothels – they performed commodified intimacy, expanding onto bodily actions a whole set of structural pressures of the market. For many of their bourgeois visitors, urban space itself began to be seen as a place of erotic delight, structured around the purported availability of working

women's bodies. In defense of “tradition”, Belgrader and Sofiaite doctors, municipal and police officials railed against the threats of city culture while instituting a new urban order based on the widespread surveillance of women's bodies. Their actions helped structure the boundaries of an urban economy of intimacy with new techniques of control and selective denial of the means of subsistence for migrant and working women. Circumscribed by regimes of medical expertise and carceral control, sex and care work were meant to be devalued, precarious, and readily available to support the supposed productive capacities of the bourgeois. I juxtapose such structural transformations with the direct and indirect forms of struggle by sex workers and women accused of selling sex. From petitions to the city magistrate, through refusals to register, to escape from medical institutions, their actions had varied success. The limits of those forms of resistance highlight the boundaries which structured the gendered visions of bourgeois society in the Balkans.

My fourth substantive chapter, “Neither Good nor Safe Subjects – Policing and Prisons as New Structures of State Violence” examines the dual emergence of scientific policing and carceral spaces in the two Balkan capitals. By the late nineteenth century the conceptual space of city maps and numbered houses was enhanced by rational policemen who held files with the names, aliases and photographs of known criminals. Local authorities counted on technological advancements such as anthropometry and Bertillonage, troubled by the possibility of the urban poor stealing from their masters with impunity. Often, such disciplinary structures were made in struggle with attempts to evade identification and punishment. In response, vagrants, street children, gamblers and the unemployed were routinely rounded up through violent police action against the poor. The lived experience of the anthropometric city combined scientific knowledge

with the ability to selectively employ force to keep populations in line with the project of bourgeois transformation. At the every end of this corrective process lay the prison, increasingly thought of as an ideal space for the production of laboring subjects. After 1878, Sofia had re-purposed a dervish monastery into the infamous Black Mosque prison, where a series of regulations attempted to establish prisoner workshops and inculcate incarcerated people with a work ethic. In Belgrade, the Topčider Economy-Inmate Facility was meant to combine imprisonment with agriculture, industry and profit-making, but was beset with financial problems and ultimately unable to achieve success. Complaints, foot-dragging and escapes made the smooth functioning of the carceral economy difficult. Ultimately, the prisons reflected the boundaries of bourgeois world-building in the Balkans. When the building of Sofia's Central Prison was completed in 1911, it excluded separate structures for prison labor. The drive to create carceral spaces through forces of state violence remained elusive behind prison and city walls.

Belgrade and Sofia's cityscape is an archive of massive social transformation, its tensions and struggles informed by varied and at times conflicting interests.[76] For the elites of the two cities, their peripheral position to global circuits of capital was a challenge to be overcome through the remaking of social space. Planners, municipal officials and bankers sought to build a different world, one in which the Danube flowed east to west.[77] Such visions of progress were based on a number of received wisdoms, shaped by Orientalist fantasies of Ottoman laziness, the

76 For the notion that the historical geography of landscape represents the inner contradictions of capitalism writ large, see David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1973), 124

77 The concept of a "wrong direction" in the region's riparian transports has a long standing history as an explanation for the lack of economic development in the early modern Balkans. Henry Hajnal. *The Danube*. (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1920), Hilda Ormsby "The Danube as a waterway" *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 39, no. 2, (1923): 103-112, Vernon John Puryear, *International Economics and Diplomacy in the Near East*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1935)

belief in the transforming ability of the entrepreneur, and the conviction that creating a suitable social, political, or cultural atmosphere could transform the economic conditions of the world.

The making of the urban Balkans was an endeavor of world-building. Industrial society, technological progress, and cultural sophistication were not just European models to emulate, but represented a way for the region's nascent bourgeoisie to imagine expanding their social positions. The specter of empire haunted their visions, even if historical circumstance made colonial efforts an impossibility. The bloody climax of these desires came to head in the Balkan Wars (1912-3), when new nations borrowed billions from West European banks in order to carve out parts of the Ottoman empire for themselves. The aftermath of 1912 and its internecine sequel left a quarter of a million people dead and millions refugees. For the Serbian socialist Dimitrije Tucović these conquering tendencies represented the incapability of the Balkan bourgeoisie to confront the ruling social order with the principle of community.[78] Bourgeois world-building was a contradiction – its myths lauded the nation-state, public safety, health, urbanism and enlightened progress as social goods, yet their application required the denial of solidarity and the commons. The world laid onto the Balkans by their urban transformation was one that crumbled communal legacies into dust.

If progress was the ambition of bourgeois world-building, dust and mud were its results. Dispossession through expulsion, speculation and street regulation marked the spatial reordering of Sofia and Belgrade. In the glistening new boulevards, policemen surveilled, detained, arrested, and beat people. Experts and municipal leaders justified their tearing of the urban fabric through

78 Dimitrije Tucović, *Srbija i Arbanija: Jedan prilog kritici zavojevačke politike srpske buržoazije* (Zagreb - Beograd: Kultura, 1946), p. 114; The only foreign translation of the text I am aware of is the German edition published during the Kosovo conflict: *Serbien und Albanien* (Wien: Arbeitsgruppe Marxismus, 1999)

promises of order and prosperity, yet ultimately did nothing but multiply disorder and poverty. In the words of Zorka Panićeva, a teenaged worker in 1907 Belgrade, the city was not a place where one could live from bare decency.[79] Resistance to new forms of brutality limited the scope of possibility for total social transformation, while engendering new techniques of violence which often surpassed the intentions of planners. From urban dispossession through medical surveillance to prison labor, modern Serbia and Bulgaria were based upon futile attempts to coral the lost.

Today, the crumbling brick of bourgeois palaces is being covered by glass and plastic. Contemporary urban transformation revolves around projects such as the Belgrade Waterfront, a 2-billion dollar public-private partnership meant to revitalize the Savamala quarter. Under the dead of night, masked men dispossess workers squatting state-owned apartments (rendered obsolete by the logic of capitalist development), Roma migrants repatriated from Western Europe (racialized as nomads impeding settled urbanity) and refugees from the Middle East, South Asia and West Africa (forced to move by war and neoliberal capitalism).[80] In Sofia, the reconstruction of the Zhenski Pazar market evokes nineteenth century projects of urban renewal, employing the desire for a "European city center" as a weapon to cleanse the area of hawkers, Roma, migrants and pensioners.[81] Olygarch looters of post-socialist privatization join Western investors to build

79 "Profesor Univerziteta I fabrička radnica" *Pravda*, 24.8.1907, p. 3

80 In April 2016, an unidentified group of thirty masked men demolished some ten thousand square feet of houses and shops in the Savamala, making space for the Belgrade Waterfront project. They restrained and evicted residents, resulting in the death of 58-year old Slobodan Tanasković. One of the objects destroyed was a self-organized center helping refugees and migrants on the Balkan route to Western Europe. Similar masked groups have collaborated with government agencies in 2009 and 2012, tearing down two Roma neighborhoods housing refugees "repatriated" from the West.

81 The residential group pressuring municipal officials to "clean-up" the area purposefully invites comparison with the past by taking on the name *Vûzrazhdane* ("Revival"), a reference to the nineteenth-century Bulgarian national movement. The discursive frame of the reconstruction of Zhenski Pazar retraces the boundaries of nineteenth century urban change, where economic upward mobility is masked by calls to excise the "Oriental" and "restore" Europeanness to the city center. See: Nikola Venkov. "Grazhdanite i pazarût. Diskursite na edin gradski konflikt" *Kritika i humanizûm*, 32 (2012): 139-162

incubators of industry, where outsourced labor poses for equal participation in European prosperity.[82] Such projects rely on historical amnesia to weave their origin stories. Yet, contemporary urban transformation is as unjust and futile as its nineteenth century precursor. "Bourgeois Balkans" is a different kind of origin story, one in which the city is not a conglomerate of building materials but a social product whose transformation reveals tension and struggle. The following four chapters warn against the perils of a world-building enterprise justified by expertise and progress, in place of solidarity and human needs.

82 Businesspark Sofia is a retail, warehouse and office space of 14 buildings on the outskirts of the city. Its 116 000 m^2 of leasable space are served by large thoroughfares, the Sofia ring road and a subway station, all public investments. First of its type in Southeastern Europe, the project was begun in 1999 by the German Lindner group and managed by in Bulgaria by construction magnate Rosen Plevneliev. Plevneliev has been the president of Bulgaria since 2011. Since 2006, the Businesspark has been under the ownership of a Liberian offshore firm with ties to Ivo Prokopiev, a millionaire who acquired his wealth through the privatization of the mining industry in the early 1990s. Both men have been large proponents of Bulgaria as an outsourcing destination for Western European and American business. Businesspark Sofia is the largest center in the country for business process outsourcing, including call centers for IBM, HP, Sony, Microsoft, Sutherland, C3i, Adecco, Sofica Group, and others.

CHAPTER ONE: “THE CITY IN OUR HANDS”

BELGRADE 1830-1867*

> “... should the city fall in our hands … then it would be so usefully transformed and uplifted that it would not even be comparable to now.’[83]
>
> –Emilijan Josimović, 1862

On 3 June 1862, a conflict took place in Belgrade's central Dorćol neighborhood. Ottoman soldiers and a young Serbian apprentice fought over the right to draw water from a fountain. In the scuffle, the troops wounded the youth. As the Serbian police responded to the disturbance, arresting the soldiers and transferring them to prison, another fight emerged over their authority to do so. In the scuffle, a Serbian translator and a policeman were wounded.[84] While it is unclear who instigated the fighting, the violence quickly expanded beyond Ottoman soldiers and Serbian police, blowing up into a large-scale riot with looting and plundering of the Dorćol area.

Even before the young apprentice was wounded, the atmosphere in the quarter had been wrought with tension. A day prior, some Muslims laid claim to their neighborhoods by erecting structures which had a crescent moon and star on top.[85] During the next two riotous days, however, most of them were driven from their homes, seeking protection of the Ottoman military garrison in the fortress. While things quieted down during the first night, the artillery from the

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* Parts of this chapter have been previously published as Miloš Jovanović, “‘The City in Our Hands’: Urban Management and Contested Modernity in Nineteenth Century Belgrade.” *Urban History* 40, no. 1 (2013): 31–50

83 Emilijan Josimović, *Objasnenje predloga za regulisanje onoga dela varoši Beograda što leži u šancu* (Beograd: Juginus, 1997), 41

84 Both later succumbed to their injuries. (see Andrić, et al. (1967), 48) In Serbian popular history, the two men are rarely mentioned. Rather, the apprentice boy, Sava (Petković or Petrović), is described as being killed by the Ottoman soldiers. See: Radoš Ljušić. *Istorija srpske državnosti,* vol. 2, *Srbija i Crna gora.* (Novi Sad: Srpska akademija nauka I umetnosti, 2001), 134

85 IAB, Uprava grada Beograda (UGB), (1862) k. 631 br. 88

fortress decided to bomb key positions in the city in an attempt by the fortress troops and Muslim notables to re-establish control over a portion of the city. This attempt failed, sparking interest into the matter by the Great Powers. With their brokerage, a peace deal was drawn up that would guarantee the relocation of the Muslims and the surrender of Belgrade's Ottoman core to Serbian jurisdiction. The treaty's legal provisions facilitated the bulk purchase of properties left by the exiled Muslims.[86]

In the center of Dorćol, a statue memorializes the events of 1862 by depicting the lifeless body of the young apprentice injured by the Ottoman troops.[87] Commissioned by a wealthy tobacco merchant and hotelier in 1931, it was meant to "remind the younger generations of that age," as the last Ottoman-era buildings were demolished in rapidly-changing interwar Belgrade.[88] Known as "The Boy with the Water Jug," the statue sits on the corner of Dobračina and Jevremova streets, near the location of the former Čukur fountain which was destroyed during nineteenth century street regulation**.**

In modern Serbia, the aftermath of 1862 is celebrated as a final step in the struggle for national liberation against the Ottoman Empire and the beginning of a "return" to Europe. In Belgrade's central square, an equestrian statue lists the names of six cities transferred to Serbian authority in the aftermath of the bombing, with the national capital in the front.[89] For most

86 AS. Državni Savet (DS), (1867), br. 277 and AS. DS. 1868 br. 342

87 See Illustration 4

88 The history of the monument is described in Branislav Vučković, "Čukur česma: kako je nastao današnji spomenik" *Nasleđe* IV (2002): 113-118. Its central role for Belgrade' s mythos is testified by recent events. The 1931 original sculpted by Simeon Roksandić was stolen in 2010 and sold to a scrap metal collector for 20 000 dinars ($180). The city's Central Institute of Conservation reconstructed the sculpture in 2011 from a 3D scan. Its website still insists that the sculpture memorializes a murdered boy, with a caveat that "other sources state he was hit on the head". Central Institute for Conservation in Belgrade. *Konzervacija skulpture "Dečak sa krčagom" sa Čukur česme u Beogradu.* Accessed Sep 11, 2015, http://www.cik.org.rs/aktivnosti/programi-i-projekti/konzervacija-skulpture-decaka-sa-cukur-cesme/

89 See Illustration 1. The sculpture is the work of Enrico Pazzi, an Italian artist who is better known for his work on the monuments of Dante and Savonarola in Florence, which completed the anachronistic medievalization of

Illustration 4: "The Boy With the Water Jug" (2011)

Muslim Belgraders, however, this was a catastrophe.[90] The 1862 riots immensely transformed the city's demographic structure. The number of people who fled ranges between three and five thousand people, making up between a quarter and a third of Belgrade's entire population.[91] The

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the city's core in time for its proclamation as the Italian capital. Pazzi's Belgrade statue was commissioned in 1873, crast in Munich in 1879, but officially revealed in the year the Serbian independent kingdom was proclaimed, 1882. Thus, the riots of twenty years prior and "the transfer of cities" ("*predaja gradova"*) was thus physically enshrined in both the cityscape and the national narrative. See the entry "Trg Republike" in S. G. Bogunović. *Arhitektonska enciklopedija Beograda, v*ol 1 (Beograd: Beogradska knjiga, 2005) Most of the primary sources on the monument can be found in the file "Dosije spomenika kulture Spomenik knezu Mihailu" at the Cultural Heritage Preservation Institute in Belgrade; On the role of the monument shaping contemporary views of Belgraders' identities, see: Bojana Bursać, "Istraživanje identiteta Beograda," *Kultura,* 122-123, (2009): 273-291; Pazzi's role in the nationalization of Dante is discussed in: Tobia Bruno, "La Statuaria Dantesca nell'Italia Liberale : Tradizione, Identità E Culto Nazionale." *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 109, no. 1 (1997): 75–87

90 Understanding the exile of Muslims as catastrophe has returned to the forefront during the Yugoslav wars. The Bosnian Muslim war-time leader Alija Izetbegović was a descendant of Izet-beg Jahić, a Belgrader exiled in the 1860s. During his 2015 visit to Belgrade, Alija's son and a member of the Bosnian tripartite presidency, Bakir Izetbegović, discussed his Belgrader origin and the houses his family owned in Dorćol. See: Faktor. "Izetbegović u intervjuu za beogradski NIN: Dodik je naš najveći problem" Accessed: 24 Sep 2015. http://faktor.ba/izetbegovic-u-intervjuu-za-beogradski-nin-dodik-je-nas-najveci-problem/. The historical trauma of the "refugee" (*muhadžir*) has continued to play role in Bosniak national historiography. The most comprehensive account of that process is the work of demographic/migration historian Safet Bandžović, who has written on the subject since the 1990s. See: Safet Bandžović, *Iseljavanje Muslimana iz Sandžaka*, (Sarajevo: Biblioteka "Ključanin," 1991), *Iseljavanje muslimanskog stanovništva iz Srbije i Crne Gore tokom* XIX *stoljeća* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1998), and the most recent *Bošnjaci i deosmanizacija Balkana: Muhadžirski pokreti i pribježišta "sultanovih musafira" (1683-1875).* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2013)

91 Radoš Ljušić claims 5700 in 1836, while Bojana Miljković Katić argues for 5800 in 1844, citing Jovan Gavrilović. Života Đorđević notes that on days of the conflict in 1862, there were between two and four thousand Muslims in the fortress (Ottoman soldiers and civilians). Ljušić, 51, J. Gavrilović, *Rečnik geografijsko-statistični Srbije,* 11-12 cited in Bojana Miljković-Katić. *Struktura gradskog stanovništva Srbije*

potential to “usefully transform and uplift” the now-vacant Ottoman city center did not escape Emilijan Josimović, a Habsburg-born engineer and mathematics professor. In the aftermath of the riots, Josimović developed a comprehensive urban plan for the area, basing bourgeois visions of social transformation on the principle of dispossession.[92]

Yugoslav historiography traces a historical path towards the 1862 riots, either through elite discourses of national awakening or inter-ethnic tensions between “occupying Turks” and “autochtonous Serbs.”[93] Such interpretations employed dogmatic interpretations of historical materialism to bind economic change with a national ethos. “Liberated from a foreign population and a foreign army, … [Belgrade] ... could only now wave with all its forces and become a true capital of Serbia, its true main economic and cultural center,” writes Vasa Čubrilović.[94] While other Serbian scholars have eschewed nationalism, their work continues to reproduce a similar discourse of modernization with Orientalist overtones. In an introduction to a collection of

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sredinom XX veka. (Istorijski institut: Beograd, 2002), 29; Života Đorđević. *Čukur česma 1862*. (Nolit: Beograd, 1983), 197

92 Josimović, 41

93 As Petar Milosavljević and Vladimir Stojanović write, it was “the tensions in the city between the Turkish and Serb populations [which] led to the general conflict and the bombing of Belgrade in 1862.” According to Radoš Ljušić,: “The privileged Turkish population had been a source of bloody conflict for decades.” This is reflected in periodization as well. The largest comprehensive history of Belgrade, the 1974 *Istorija Beograda*, devotes its whole second volume to the nineteenth century, measuring time in between national liberation struggles. Hence chapter titles such as “Srpska revolucija 1804-1815 [The Serbian Revolution 1804-1815]” are followed by “Politička istorija do oslobođenja grada od Turaka [Political history until the city's liberation from the Turks”. Vasa Čubrilović, ed. *Istorija Beograda*; Ljušić, 134

94 Vasa Čubrilović, “Beograd – nacionalno i kulturno središte Srbije u XIX veku” in Vasa Čubrilović, ed. *Oslobođenje gradova u Srbiji od Turaka 1862-1867 god.* (Beograd: SANU, 1970). Čubrilović was a Yugoslav politician and historian whose work synthesized anti-imperialist, nationalist and socialist discourses, becoming widely circulated by the 1970s. In his youth, he participated in the Young Bosnia assassination attempt against Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo for which he was imprisoned, while his brother, Veljko, was executed. In 1937, as an assistant professor of history at Belgrade University, Čubrilović authored a memorandum that advised the expulsion of Albanians from Kosovo through violence. After 1945, his explicitly nationalist past was expunged from the public record as Čubrilović became a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. In the post-war period, he was a federal Yugoslav minister, a member of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, a dean, and founder of the Balkanological Institute in Belgrade. Ksenija Cvetičić & Ljiljana Krajšić. *Vasa Čubrilović (1897 – 1990) Katalog izložbe.* (Biblioteka Matice Srpske: Novi Sad, 1997). Accessed Sep 11, 2015. http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/pageFlip/reader/index.php?type=publications&id=1438&m=2#page/2/mode/2up

archival documents on the history of Belgrade, a collective of social historians describes how: "[a]uthorities sought to replace the 'ruffledness' and disorder of the East with the rules of ordered life that were valid in the Western capitals."[95] Against the trends of Yugoslav historiography their work emphasizes the incompleteness of the national project, a "vicious circle of [failed] modernization."[96] While disagreeing on its effectiveness, both sides of Serbian historiography interpret the riots of 1862 in a positive light, as part of a national path towards modernity.

The few existing Anglophone urban histories of the Balkans also see national ideologies as the primary agents in the shaping of nineteenth-century urban space.[97] For many, urban transformation appears as a process of claiming European identity through de-Ottomanization.[98] Nathaniel D. Wood has used the example of Belgrade to argue that "the 'idea of Europe' was a relatively positive way to depict the process we now call globalization."[99] Common to both local and Anglophone approaches is a progressive interpretation of history, which assumes the

95 This quote ends the first paragraph of "Ka slobodnoj prestonici" [Towards a free capital], an essay which describes Belgrade's urban transformation in the 1850s and 60s. It was authored by five prominent Serbian historians, and published as in introduction to a collection of archival documents. Branka Prpa et al., *Živeti u Beogradu 1851 – 1967 – Dokumenta uprave Beograda*. (Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 2005), p. 7 Many of the authors have spearheaded the so-called "social turn" in writing Serbian history and are members of the *Udruženje za društveni istoriju* [Association for Social History]. Two them, Predrag J. Marković and Dubravka Stojanović have published extensive monographs on the social history of Belgrade. Marković is well known for his series on Belgrade history, namely *Beograd i Evropa 1918-1941*. *Evropski uticaji na modernizaciju Beograda* (1992), *Beograd između Istoka i Zapada 1948-1965.* (1996), *Sindikati Beograda 1945-1998.* (coauthored with V. Glišić, M. Pavlović, M. Aćimović; 1999) and as a translator of Eric Hobsbawm. Stojanović has written a monograph on urbanization in Belgrade, cited earlier.

96 Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt...*, 363

97 Emily Gunzburger Makaš and Tanja Damljanović Conley, *Capital Cities in the Aftermath of Empires: Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe*. 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2010); AlexandraYerolympos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans (1820-1920): Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Remaking of (Thessaloniki*. University Studio Press, 1996)

98 Christopher Houston, "Provocations of the Built Environment: Animating Cities in Turkey as Kemalist." *Political Geography*, 24, no. 1 (January 2005): 101–19; Khaled Ziadeh, *Neighborhood and Boulevard*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011); Yorgos Koumaridis, "Urban Transformation and De-Ottomanization in Greece." *East Central Europe* 33, no. 1 (2006): 213–41. Maximilian Hartmuth, "Negotiating Tradition and Ambition: Comparative Perspective on the 'De-Ottomanization' of the Balkan Cityscapes." *Ethnologia Balkanica*, 10, (2006): 15–33

99 Nathaniel D. Wood, "Not Just the National," in Makaš and Damljanović Conley (2010), 268

existence of an *a priori* modernity external to the Balkan context, where it is then more or less successfully applied. This chapter argues against such reifications of modern urbanity, seeing urban transformation as inseparable from the political economic context in which it arises. I do so by exploring the historical and economic background behind the erasure of Ottoman urban forms and the making of Belgrade as a national capital.

In this chapter, I argue that the riots of 1862 were not a product of some predestined clash between Western modernity and Oriental backwardness, nor a singular example of inter-ethnic struggle for national supremacy. Instead, they took place in the context of extreme urban change, a restructuring of space that both reflected and fueled new social relations of production and new forms of surplus extraction. In three decades preceding the 1862 riots, merchant capitalists, Habsburg-educated engineers, planners and state officials developed and implemented common visions of urban change. Through dispossession, expertise, and the market they sought to implement such ambitions, with varied levels of success. I argue that 1862 must be seen as a product of the attempts and failures to transform the city by this nascent bourgeoisie.

It is clear that those who sought to transform Balkan cities between 1830 and 1912, whether they were architects, planners, or municipal officials, did so from positions of power. The spaces they envisioned were part of a wider political economic reorganization of society. The very position from which Emilijan Josimović could dream of a “city in our hands” was contingent on changes in the extraction of surplus and struggles to establish new forms of urban dispossession. Interrogating Balkan urbanization through the lens of cultural transformation, as is the dominant trend in contemporary historiography, does not explain why ideas took their particular shapes or why some became dominant instead of others. I argue that Balkan cities can

be *read*, not only as archives of inter-ethnic relations or the production of state power, but also the contradictions and struggles of capitalist social transformation. The production of urban space was at the heart of a world-building process that envisioned national, bourgeois societies.

I begin my discussion with an outline of the historical setting for the first large interventions in nineteenth-century urban tissue. Years before Belgrade became the capital of the autonomous Serbian principality, the process of transforming the urban fabric had already begun.[100] I link the rise of local merchant capitalists and tax farmers with the growth of a new administrative apparatus during the 1830s. The dispossession of Belgrade's Savamala neighborhood, razed to house state employees, also created space for the institutionalization of urban planning and the restructuring of construction work. The emerging real-estate market, actuated by the violence of state intervention, went hand-in-hand with new legal regulations on construction and property, based on scientific and rational principles. Through the institutionalization of dispossession, state and municipal elites sought to dominate existing processes of the production of space outside the city's entrenchments.

These attempts were limited by organized and spontaneous forms of resistance, from collective petitions to assaults on planners surveying streets for regulation. In response, elites turned their attention inside the city moat, where one third of the city's houses and shops lay, owned mostly by the Muslim population. As the riots and the bombing of the city concluded in 1862, the Serbian state was able to take over these properties and become the single largest

100 The capital of the Serbian principality during the first rule of Prince Miloš was Kragujevac, located in a more central region of the province. The insistence on Belgrade as the capital came from the Constitutionalist faction (*Ustavobranitelji*), which sought to destabilize the rule of Miloš's heir, Mihajlo in 1840. Thus, the city became a capital by compromise, having already established itself as a major commercial hub. The Constitutionalists were merchant elites who took over from the Obrenović dynasty, installing as Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević, the son of Karađorđe Petrović, the leader of the First Serbian Uprising (1804-1813) and Miloš Obrenović's main rival. The Constitutionalists ruled the country through a State Council (Državni Sovet*)* until 1858.

owner of real-estate in the city. Able to set prices, regulate streets and develop land, the product of this second wave of dispossession was a new kind of spatio-social product, a capital city based on the production of inequalities.

Dispossession And City Building In The Savamala

The political setting for Belgrade's transformation between 1830 and 1862 had been the rise of an autonomous Serbian elite led primarily by Prince Miloš Obrenović and his descendants. Prince Miloš had been one of the leaders of the Second Serbian Uprising, a rebellion which channeled popular discontent over Ottoman taxation into autonomy for the region.[101] An oral agreement between Miloš and Belgrade's governor, Maraşlı Ali pasha legitimized the status quo between the rebels and the imperial government. Ottoman civil and military authority was maintained in the cities, while the authority of the Christian elites extended to rural areas. This agreement became the basis for two Sultan's decrees (*hatt-ı şerıf*) in 1830 and 1833, which granted autonomy to a newly-formed Serbian Principality, excluding six of the largest cities which remained under direct governorship of the Porte.[102] Effectively, a system of dual authority was put into place which mimicked the situation that had hitherto existed on the ground. Prince Miloš was granted hereditary authority over the internal affairs of the Serbian Orthodox population, a prescription which was later extended to foreigners, Jews and Roma. The Muslim population, on the other hand, was advised to sell their property and relocate to the cities where they were to figure as "guardians."[103] The product of these political changes

101 For the purpose of consistency with existing historiography, here and elsewhere I refer to Miloš Obrenović using only his title and first name.

102 Besides Belgrade, these cities included Smederevo (Semenderi), Šabac, Kladovo (Feth ul-Islam), Užice and Soko. See: Jovan Milićević. 'Istorija predaje turskih gradova u Srbiji srpskoj vladi 1867. godine' in Čubrilović ed., *Oslobođenje*..., 245 There was nothing particularly extraordinary about these specific *hatt-ı şerıf's*, which came in the context of a wider autonomization of the Smeredevo/Semenderi *sancak* during the late 18th and early 19th century.

103 Reşid Belgradi. *Istorija Čudnovatih događaja u Beogradu i Srbiji*, vol. 1, trans. D. S. Čohadžić (Beograd,

was a system of dual authority, in which the Ottoman governor held control of Belgrade's city core, while the Serbian administration controlled areas outside the city's retrenchments.

Court records show that the transition to dual authority was not clear-cut, and that ambiguity was exploited by the city's population. Muslims maintained ownership over land near town borders, and leased it out to Christians seeking either to build houses and inns on the way to town, or plant produce to sell on the green markets. These informal arrangements challenged visions of a state control over peri-urban land. On 1 April 1831, the Belgrade magistrate wrote with concern to the office of Prince Miloš that Muslims had hired Christians to till their land in Vračar, on the outskirts of the city.[104] Miloš' authority attempted to ban transactions between Muslims and Christians, particularly emphasizing that it would not guarantee rights over land, but only ownership of buildings situated on it.[105] Belgraders of different faiths, however, utilized the dual legal status of cities to their benefit, by appealing both to Serbian authorities and Ottoman courts. This practice had developed prior to 1830, as Orthodox Christians made use of Knez Miloš' bureaucracy in order to challenge decisions made by Ottoman officials and broker better deals on the lease of plots and buildings.[106] Furthermore, they used the decisions of the Ottoman sharia courts as leverage to argue for property rights and construction privileges in front of Serbian administrative courts.[107] Muslims alike appealed to Prince Miloš' authority when sharia decisions were not in their favour.[108] The level of complaints and interactions, particularly

1894), 31

104 AS. Kneževa Kancelarija (KK) VIII 1831 Br. 323

105 AS, KK VIII 1831, Br. 341(1)

106 For example, Belgrade guilds wrote a letter in 1823 to Jevrem Obrenović, Miloš' brother and representative of his authorities in the city, asking for brokerage because of an increase in rents for houses and stores under Muslim ownership. AS, KK III 1823, Br. 37

107 AS, KK III 1826 Br. 42

108 AS. KK XXIX 1832 No. 140, AS. KK XXIX 1835, No. 149, AS. KK XXIX 1835, No. 149 et cetera. Most of these letters are situated in the Kneževa Kancelarija [Prince's Office] fund of the Archives of Serbia, section No. XXIX Domaći Turci knezu Milošu [Local Turks to Prince Miloš]

derived from the letters of Belgrade Muslims, suggests houses and shops were traded across religious lines. These practices directly challenged the authority of both the imperial state and the Serbian administration over land-use in the city area. Furthermore, exploitation of the ambiguity of dual authority circumvented elite monopolies on granting land as an instrument of political power.

Granting land was part of the political strategy for the Serbian administration, which sought to compensate the newly-hired clerk class by the assignment of plots for the construction of family homes in the outskirts of Belgrade. The practice of granting buildable plots to hired bureaucrats had begun with the establishment of the Prince's Office (*Kneževa Kancelarija*) in the aftermath of the Second Serbian Uprising.[109] Miloš' quest to solidify temporal authority over the Serbian Orthodox population required judicial and financial institutions to replace those of the Ottoman state. In the 1830s, this resulted in the construction of new government edifices on the outer edge of Belgrade's entrenchments, in the predominantly Christian Savamala neighbourhood.

The Savamala was designed as an administrative center for the management of the trade and taxation of commodities. In one of the few contemporary treatises critical of the Obrenović administration, Simeon "Sima" Milutinović Sarajlija describes the rise of Miloš' rule as deeply informed by understandings of space and its relationship to forces of production.[110] As some documents indicate, the process of collecting construction material for the Savamala already began in 1829, the date of a letter informing the Prince that wood was selected by the head

109 AS. KK III, 1825 br. 592-5 This practice continued well into the 1830s and 40s, as shown below.

110 S. M. Sarajlija. "Paljenje Savamale," in *O vladavini kneza Miloša od pročitakog sultanovog fermana 1834 do dobijanja turskog ustava.* Date unknown. ASANU 14161/52

builder.[111] Simultaneous with the construction of his palace in the Savamala, Miloš had sent people to several counties around central Serbia, in order to gather craftsmen and material for the building of various edifices.[112] In 1831, the Prince's Office had ordered the repaving of the roads surrounding the Sava Gate, which looked towards the river and the Savamala. The local headmen and "the main merchants which take their wares by these roads" were tasked to do the assignment.[113] The document further reveals the reasoning behind the new administration's attention towards the riverbank. It notes that "goods coming in from the [Habsburg] Imperium" are unloaded in front of warehouses by the Sava gate, and that this area should be cobbled as well as the streets. Initial attempts at street regulation and new construction were both strategically located next to the port in order to facilitate the flow and taxation of commodities.

Aside from taxation, the Obrenović administration had two major sources of income. One had been the collection of duties on goods entering the Ottoman domain, while the other was a monopoly on the Danubian salt trade that satisfied commercial demands in Austro-Hungarian and Balkan markets.[114] Belgrade was a key asset in the trade, as the overland route between Europe and the Middle East intersected there with the riverine trade that connected the Black Sea and Mediterranean to Central European hinterlands. Manufactured goods from Central

111 AS KK V, 1829, br. 96 The phrase used for the head builder ("Hadži dunđerin") suggests that this may have been Hadži-Nikola Živković, the builder of the Prince's konaks and other important edifices in the 1830s.

112 S. M. Sarajlija, Not paginated

113 AS. KK V 1831, br. 90

114 The trade of Wallachian salt was a particularly lucrative business for Miloš and other merchant capitalists. They exploited higher demand in Austria-Hungary through smuggling and undercutting competitors' prices. Bogumil Hrabak, *Jevreji U Beogradu Do Sticanja Ravnopravnosti (1878)* (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2009), 285-6 and Vladan Jovanović, "Korupcija u vreme vladavine Miloša Obrenovića" in *Korupcija i razvoj moderne srpske države*, eds. Aleksandra Bulatović and Srđan Korać (Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja i Centar za bezbednosne studije: Beograd, 2006) Jewish and Christian merchants such as Šelomo Halfon, Aleksa Simić, Miša Anastasijević and the brothers Davičo shared in the Obrenović business. During the 1840s and 50s, Aleksa's brother, Stojan Simić and Miša Anastasijević both began building elaborate palaces in Belgrade. While Simić managed to turn a profit, selling his to the royal family, Anastasijević sought to use the building as a demonstration of financial power in a bid to make his son-in-law prince. For more on both buildings in relation to the production of space in the mid-1800s, see below.

Europe, mining and raw materials from the Romanian Old Kingdom, and agricultural products from the Balkans all went through the city's customs gates. Belgrade's Sava riverbank was centrally situated for the economic interests of the Obrenović dynasty, whose position depended on replacing the Ottoman elite as the collectors of customs tax and managers of riparian trade.[115]

The existing Savamala neighborhood was seen as an impediment to the development of an administrative center. Prince Miloš urged the Belgrade governor Cvetko Rajović to expel the area's residents, and was furious to find that the task had not been completed by 1834. Angry at Rajović's inability to clear the existing 172 houses from the neighborhood, Miloš ordered the place be burned "not thinking of the ill residents, nor the mothers with the small children, not letting them remove their affects from their homes."[116] Sources favorable to the Obrenović administration corroborate this description of indiscriminate violence. Miloš' long-term doctor, Bartolomeo Cuniberti, noted that there were "some hundred and fifty miserable houses" in the neighborhood, where "refugees from Bulgaria and Hungary" had lived.[117] Cuniberti describes the same course of events as Sarajlija, but frames the burning as creative destruction, stating that the residents were given "healthier and more appropriate land" on the other end of the city. In Cuniberti's version of events, the Savamalans "had moved to new houses in Palilula, taking with themselves a few earthenware dishes, and a few better wooden

115 S. M. Sarajlija notes this as well, arguing that together with the collection of construction material, Miloš had also sent out commissions which registered former Ottoman property holdings in order to take over the taxation of their income.

116 S. M. Sarajlija, not paginated

117 Kunibert, 363. Bartolomeo Silvestro Cuniberti (1800-1851) was born in Savigliano, Piedmont and graduated medicine in Turin. A member of the Carbonari, an international network of secret societies who expoused liberal and patriotic ideas in post-Napoleonic Italy, he had moved first to Istanbul, and finally to Belgrade as the vizier's physician in 1826. Two years later he became the physician of Prince Miloš, and subsequently the first city doctor. See: Angelo Tamborra, "Un carbonaro piemontese, medico e uomo di Stato, nella Serbia dell'Ottocento: Bartolomeo Silvestri Cuniberti" *Studi piemontesi* XXX, No. 2, (2001): 343-364 and Zoran Matović and Marko Spasić, "Prvi fizikusi i bolnice u Kragujevcu – prestonici obnovljene Srbije", *Medicinski časopis*, 47, No. 4, (2013), 217-8

things that were still usable. By noon, the Savamala was a pile of rot and destruction."[118] He adds that the residents were so grateful that they danced the circle-dance (*kolo*) around the ruins of their homes, two days after they were moved out. Regardless of how these events were interpreted by contemporaries, it is clear that the residents of the Savamala were expelled in 1834 and their houses set on fire.

Contrary to Cuniberti's claims, the Savamalas were neither grateful, nor did they silently accept their dispossession. Archival records show that the residents did not receive new houses in the Palilula area at any point in the 1830s. Even latter maps of the city do not show several hundred new houses in the new district.[119] In 1838, several locals who were ordered to move from the Sava bank petitioned to settle back on unregulated plots near the new administrative centre.[120] The petition was denied in a very sarcastic tone, suggesting that the new "Mala" (*mahala*, neighbourhood) cannot be "closed off by some humble cottages", but that the petitioners should resettle somewhere near the (deserted) Batal Mosque where 'the water, that they claim to enjoy so much, won't be so far either'.[121] The mosque was near the apex of the Belgrade crag, the furthest spot from both the Sava and the Danube rivers. Such strong responses from the administration did not discourage residents from continuing to seek compensation for their homes.

In 1839, as the political regime in Serbia shifted, complaints over the burning of the Savamala resurfaced. The government came to be dominated by the Constitutionalists, a coalition of merchant capitalists who forced Prince Miloš to abdicate, installing several

118 Kunibert, 364
119 See Illustration 5; The Savamalans themselves testified to the lack of compensation in 1839. AS. Ministarstvo Unutrašnjih Dela – Policija (MUD-P) IV. br. 70
120 AS, KK VIII, 1838, Br. 699 l. 1
121 Ibid, l. 2

successors on the throne. New political circumstances emboldened local priest Dimitrije Jokanović to scold masons who were tearing down his wall in order to build a merchant's house. Jokanović had shouted that "the Obrenovići are gone now, and you can't be taking other people's plots and building houses."[122] In September 1839, a tanner and his wife filed a complaint with the city magistrate, stating that Prince Miloš destroyed "their house which had a legal deed", giving the plot to local headman (*kmet*).[123] There is no record of the petition being successful. Plots of land confiscated for new administrative buildings also don't seem to have been compensated for either. That same year, a number of former Savamalans had filed a complaint with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, stating that "the plots upon which their houses had been, were some burned, some torn down in the year 1834 by the former Prince", and complained that "plots were not given to them in any other place."[124] Petitions appeared as late as 1842, when local resident Nikola Leko was informed to forget about any promised financial remuneration, and "settle with the plot and place that was given to him… just as it had happened to others of his kind."[125] While it is possible that Leko had received a plot in return, a report from that same year shows that the most of the Savamalans were ultimately not remunerated in currency or in kind.[126] The strategy of former residents to petition the new authorities was ultimately unsuccessful.

Regardless of its outcome, the Savamalans' petition can help determine what kind of neighborhood was destroyed through dispossession. The exact number of people who were

122 IAB UGB 1839, k. 5 f. II br. 4.
123 IAB UGB 1839, k. 5 f. II br. 9, l. 1
124 AS. MUD-P IV. 1839, br. 70
125 AS, DS 1842, No. 541 The phrasing "like others of his kind" ("kao … i drugima njemu podobnima") may refer to the fact that Leko was not a clerk or a government official, but simply a local ("žitelj").
126 AS, DS 1842, Br. 544

forced to move is not listed, but can be extrapolated from the 119 signatories.[127] If the numbers follow the house/resident ratio of the 1834 census, there were roughly 6-700 people resettled from the area.[128] The vast majority of the signatories were men with Slavic or Christian names, although two were women. Their plots were roughly the same size (390 m^2), although a few were smaller (225 m^2). They all possessed the deed to their land. In the five years between their disposession and the petition, we do not know where the former residents settled, although it is possible that some moved to Palilula. If Sarajlija and Cuniberti's original assesment of a hundred and fifty houses is to be believed, it seems that the majority of the Savamalans had signed the 1839 petition demanding restitution. The Savamala was a neighborhood of relatively equal plots, wooden houses, and solidarity in the face of dispossession.

The same year in which the old residents sought return or restitution, newly-settled state officials and clerks sought to build. In October, the Ministry of Finance sent a list of its employees who were requesting plots in the new Savamala quarter.[129] There was Živan Petrović, the chief treasurer, Miloe Božić, the head of Belgrade Customs, and several accountants and clerks.[130] Two days later, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs followed suit. Avram Petronijević, the Minister requested a plot, and so did Paun Janković, the chief of staff in the Prince's Office.[131] The postal chief and his entourage of senior mailmen followed, and behind them the secretaries, translators, and scribes. In four days, the Minister of Justice would add his name to the lists of new Savamalan residents, including twelve other officials, a provincial school director and a

127 AS, MUD-P IV. 1839, br. 80
128 Materials from the census of 1834 give a house/resident ratio for Christians of 5.4. Vladimir Jakšić. “Građa za deržavopis Serbie” in *Glasnik društva srbske slovesnosti.* Vol. IV. (Beograd: Knjigopečatnica knjažestva Srbije, 1852), 250
129 AS. MUD-P IV, 1839 br. 110
130 AS. MUD-P IV, 1839 br. 112
131 AS. MUD-P IV, 1839 br. 113

court president.[132] The new Savamala was a neighborhood for government officials and clerks, the new urban class meant to manage the country's trade and taxation. Created through dispossession, the slope towards the Sava river came to embody the spatial visions of the nascent Serbian administration.

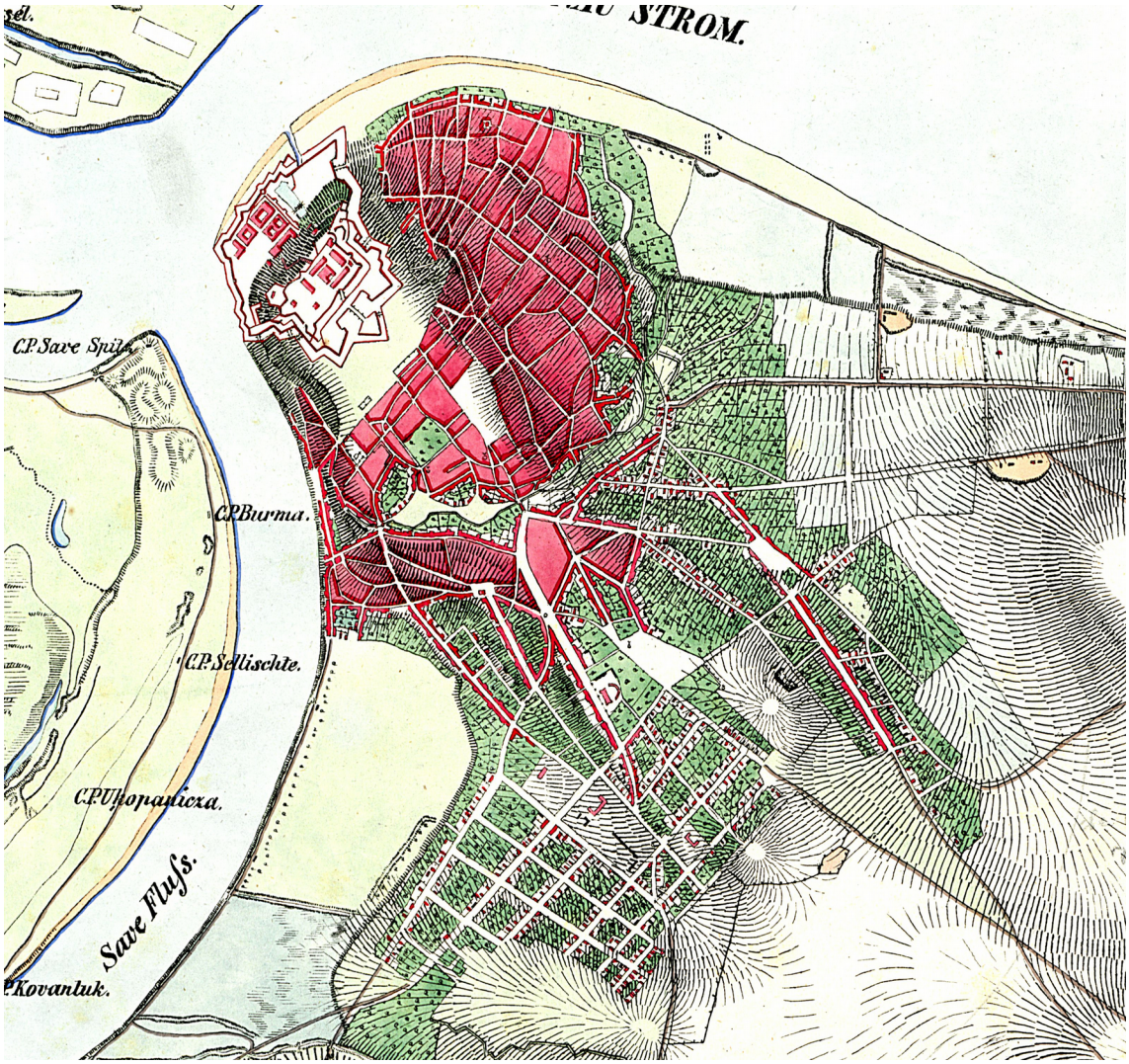

Illustration 5: 1857 Habsburg military map, section. The Savamala is near the Sava river bank ("Save fluss"), starting from the area marked "C.P. Burma" and following the outer curve of the city retrenchments uphill. Houses of government officials and clerks stretch out from the neighborhood, forming a grid. The suburb of Palilula is in the center of the map. Its smaller streets and houses stretch from the top part of the Belgrade crag sloping slightly towards the Danube. The city core under Ottoman jurisdiction remains between the retrenchments and the fortress (marked white).

132 AS. MUD-P IV, 1839, br. 121

Property, Labor, And Expertise

For many of its new residents, increased settlement on the Sava slope created incentives to delineate plot ownership clearly as private property. In 1839, the widow Anka Cvetković wrote to the city magistrate, complaining that her neighbor had stolen a part of her plot.[133] Anka had claimed she had sold a plot with 5 *fati* (9.45m) of street frontage, but when her neighbor put up a fence delineating the plot, he had purposefully extended the line to take up another *fat* (1.89m) in the back. Both Anka and Sima were new owners, who sought to benefit from price speculation during the construction of the new Savamala. They had recently purchased plots from Džida the Cop, because of their prime location in front of the city administration building. The ordeal went back and forth for several months, until the police was asked to assess the monetary value of Anka's plot in October. It is likely that the cause of the assessment was an attempt to purchase both plots, because a note on that document's margins states that Ana was unhappy with the offer of 20 *thalers*.[134] During the second half of the 1830s, extensive spatial upheaval made the delineation of individual property rights much more important than before.

At the time, property rights were managed through a system of community-based governance, which combined neighborhood and municipal institutions. In their capacity as an organ of the state, city police talked to the neighborhood headman, who then went to confirm that Anka's neighbor, Sima, had not increased the plot.[135] Without the power of state institutions, deeds were kept by their owners and confirmed through social relationships. As in Anka's case, this system could not guarantee the status and size of plots in situations of conflict between neighbords. The burning of the Savamala created tensions between communal structures of urban

133 IAB UGB 1839, k. 4 br. 6 l. 2
134 Ibid, l. 3 (verso)
135 Ibid, l. 3 (recto)

governance and pressures to delineate land as a bearer of value. The promise of profit through speculation put pressure on government officials to institutionalize plot ownership, promote street regulation and facilitate new construction.

Records of the valuation of expropriated plots also show the limits of real-estate speculation, which depended on increased demand for land. In 1839, the widow Anica followed the suit of other Savamalans by complaining to the justice ministry. Anica was a well-to-do woman who received some remuneration for her houses, which were destroyed to build Prince Miloš residence. Her petition, however, describes outrage with the process of expropriation, which took place "without any agreement, based on caprice, with some insignificant compensation, not enough to pay for the roof tiles".[136] Anica had owned an inn and warehouses by the riverbank, a basement with some sheds, the first floor of an old tavern and two houses in the center. The Ministry asked the city police to investigate, so officers questioned the builders who appraised Anica's buildings. In total, the builders valuated her properties at 97,300 piastres, counting the the inn at six times the value of the two houses combined in the center. Even more surprising, the unfinished first floor of the tavern was valuated twice as much as the two houses combined.[137] Buildings which had the potential to accrue profit (the inn, warehouses and the tavern base) were valued much more highly than houses in the center of the city. This suggests that in the absence of speculatory buyers, the commercial potential of real-estate determined value more than its location. Anica's dissatisfaction also points to the uneasy relationship brought about by the burning of the Savamala between state projects and individual motivations for profit.

136 IAB UGB 1839, k. 4 br. 11. l. 1
137 Ibid, l. 2 The lengths used were measurements in the *hvat* system, of 6 *fati* and 5 *šuha* x 2 *fati* and 4 *šuha*.

The hitherto unprecedented size of the construction efforts on the banks of the Sava put an increased amount of pressure on masons' and hewers' guilds. Initially, these projects were designed by guild-masters such as Hadži-Nikola Živković, who was responsible for the Prince's palaces (*konaks*) in the Savamala (1831) and Topčider (1835). Under his guidance, foremen and women managed skilled labor which hailed from various regions in the Ottoman Empire and as far away as Italy. Hewers came mostly from the Osat region in Bosnia, following the wood which traveled down the Drina and Sava rivers to the city.[138] Masons hailed largely from Macedonia or from Herzegovina.[139] At the time, there were seven associations (*taifa*) of masons in Belgrade.[140] Combined with guild experts and journeymen, projects also exploited various forms of forced labor, through corvee requirements from peasants and Roma communities as well as prisoner labor.[141] During the 1830s, between two and three hundred skilled laborers were paid, and an unknown number of others forced to work on buildings in the Savamala area.

In 1835, their combined labor power completed work on the first purely administrative building in Belgrade, the Customs House, which lay directly below the Sava Gate. During its construction, Aromanian builders (likely seasonal workers from Macedonia) complained of low salaries.[142] To address these concerns, local managers wrote to the Prince's administration with a list of workers and their daily wages. This list helps us in reconstruct the labor structure of state projects in the 1830s.

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138 Miodrag Kolarić. "Građevine I Građevinari Srbije Od 1790 Do 1839." *Zbornik Muzeja Prvog Srpskog Ustanka* I, no. 1, (1959), 13

139 Živković himself was from Voden/Edessa

140 Nada Andrić et al., *Beograd u XIX veku*. (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1967), 74

141 Sarajlija notes that "for some useless buildings in Belgrade and other places, people worked for 60 or 70 days in a summer, on their own bread, which wasn't the custom in Serbia even during the cruelty (*zulum*) of the Ottoman lords (*dahije*)" See also Kolarić, 14 and *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića,* vol. XV, p. 3 For more on the regimes of forced labor, imprisonment and spatial imaginaries, see Chapter Four on the Topčider economy.

142 AS KK. Beogradski konak 1834. br. 53

Some three hundred people were involved in two major state projects in the 1830s. Some 112 builders in nine *taifas* worked on the Customs House, with the masters receiving double the wage of the apprentices.[143] Another 188 people worked on the Prince's Palace in Topčider. Apart from 33 Belgraders, the builders were migrant laborers, which came from from the Debar region in Macedonia, Šabac, Valjevo, Niš, and Pirot. A special contingent of Aromanians was noted, and toponymics mention Sofia, Gostivar, Sarajevo, as well as a few "Greeks". There were three women builders – Ana and Dina were masters, Vera a journeywoman.[144] Two Muslim masters, one journeyman, and one apprentice also worked there, attached to the Klenjanin *taifa*. On the outskirts the city, many of these people worked on other administrative buildings, such as the Great Barracks and the building of the State Council, completed in 1835.[145]

Guild work complicated the distinction between purchasers of labor power and the workers themselves. As the list of workers' *taifas* shows, the guild was more of an umbrella organization for smaller groups which did not always replicate hierarchies based on patriarchy or seniority. Such groups took the role of negotiating the price of labor power and educating unskilled workers, alongside organizing labor processes. Far from managers loyal to the employer, masters could take measures to sabotage control over labor processes. After budgeting control was instituted for the edifices of Prince Miloš, for example, Hadži-Nikola Živković was arrested and beaten at least twice due to missing construction material.[146] Such examples of solidarity, however, were not extended to the forced laborers that worked alongside guild masons and hewers. *Taifas* remained insular and reserved privileges for members of each particular

143 6 and 3 *groša*, respectively. Đorđević, p. 55-57
144 Ibid. 56 The gender of several other names is ambiguous, such as Andrea and Andreja.
145 Andrić et al., 76; The State Council building may have been the only one designed outside the guild system, by a Habsburg architect named Franz Dobi.
146 AS, KK III 1830, br. 419-430

group or place of origin. Yet, by the late 1830s, new aesthetic, financial and legal regulations would erode whatever protection guild organization offered to construction workers.

After 1835, state requirements of institutionalized education in construction raised barriers of entry for unskilled workers, while masters sought to protect their inherited privileges. Fundamental stylistic transformations in building materials and methods alienated informal knowledge-production, as the arrival of experts from Central Europe created a new class of contractors and managers. The construction effort in the Savamala invited engineers and architects from the Habsburg lands across the two rivers to Belgrade. While the guild-masters combined design and labor management their work, these men had specialized knowledge which focused exclusively on planning.

In 1834, a Slovak Habsburg subject named Franc Janke replaced Hadži-Nikola Živković as the head of ongoing construction efforts.[147] Unlike his predecessor, Janke was formally educated at the Vienna Imperial-Royal Polytechnic Institute (*k.k. Polytechniscnes Institut*). Founded in 1815, the institute was the brainchild of Johann von Prechtl, a technologist and educator whose curriculum of natural and technical sciences came to be replicated in other German-speaking universities.[148] Franz Janke had studied there in the school's early years, when Prechtl's leadership emphasized technical knowledge for the purposes of national industry.[149] Janke was first and foremost an engineer, a fact reflected in the title of his new post. The incongruity between his educational background and the tasks set out before him, reflected the ambiguous approach towards technical knowledge by the Serbian administration, whose primary

147 Đurić-Zamolo, *Graditelji...*, 53 and Andrić et al, 75
148 In particular, the model was replicated in Karlsruhe and Hannover.
149 For an overview of Prechtl's work in the school, see: Christian Hantschk, *Johann Joseph Prechtl und das Wiener Polytechnische Institut*. (Wien: Böhlau, 1988)

purpose was the effective completion of state construction projects.

Despite his lack of architectural education, Franz Janke's designs were employed in a number of buildings in the Savamala area. Among other duties, he designed the base for the baroque-inspired Cathedral Church (1841), replacing an 18th century building across from the Prince's *konak*, as well as the first industrial plant in the city, the Great Brewery (1839).[150] Janke also worked on infrastructural projects with other Habsburg engineers in the interior, like bridging the Morava river in Ćuprija.[151] In terms of private residences, he designed the house of Cvetko Rajović (1837), featuring a classicist style with Doric pilasters.[152] The Habsburg engineer worked mainly on government projects or the private buildings of government officials, now comprising a large part of the residents on the Sava bank.

Illustration 6: A photograph of the Savamala from an 1892 special edition of a Budapest newspaper. Janke's Cathedral Church can be seen above the neighborhood.

150 Đurić-Zamolo, *Graditelji...*, 53
151 AS. MUD-P. IX, 1839, br. 26
152 Đurić-Zamolo, *Graditelji...*, 53 and Kolarić, 21

After the successful completion of these initial activities, Franc Janke began work on regulating streets, delineating plots and expanding the new quarters outside the city's retrenchments. In 1840, he went to the field together with a member of the city government, “in order to regulate the streets of Palilula”, but found that his work was actively resisted by the neighborhood’s residents.[153] Janke was prevented in delineating the 36 meter wide streets envisioned by the state’s plan, because “upon noticing that because of the wide streets, several houses of the local residents were harmed and taken from … the local people became agitated and gentlemen engineers were exposed to the greatest of dangers.”[154] Janke’s letter advised that street widths should be reduced 18-20m “so that such rebellion and distress” would be avoided, and their houses preserved. Work on street expansion according to his plan continued in 1841 using prisoner labor.[155] Unlike in the Savamala, residents of the Palilula area organized against the planner’s gaze before their houses could be torn down.

Janke’s 1842 plan for the expansion of the city towards the Batal Mosque largely avoided existing residential areas.[156] His plan features wide streets under straight angles and a central square which frames the already existing structure of the Barracks.[157] Janke had also made similar plans for other areas in the city, designing streets, squares around churches and municipal buildings, and roads towards surrounding towns.[158] His 1842 project sought to replicate the interventions which shaped the Savamala. The plan was executed by a five-member Commission, intended to “classify and limit” the plots already occupied in the area, and thus

153 AS. MUD-P V, 1840, br. 174
154 Ibid
155 MUD-P V, 1841, br. 6
156 See Illustration 7
157 The plan was attached as an appendix to a letter from Popečitelj vnutrenih dela polkovnik-kavaljer Cvetko Rajović to Mihailo M. Obrenović,AS. DS, 1842, No. 560
158 AS. MUD-P V, 1842, br. 54; AS. MPs. F. II 1841, br. 42

relocate those “who occupied [plots] that are not appropriate (*shodno*) to them”. The appropriate preference for plots were clerks employed with the state apparatus. The criteria for their classification was, according to the Commission’s findings, attributed to ‘the lesser or greater vibrancy of the streets between them’, i.e. their width and straightness. The letter presenting the plan indicated that at least two professors from the city Lyceé have already begun building houses on the designated plots. On the surface, it appeared that the engineer and the state commission had been successful in expanding the Savamala inland towards Palilula.

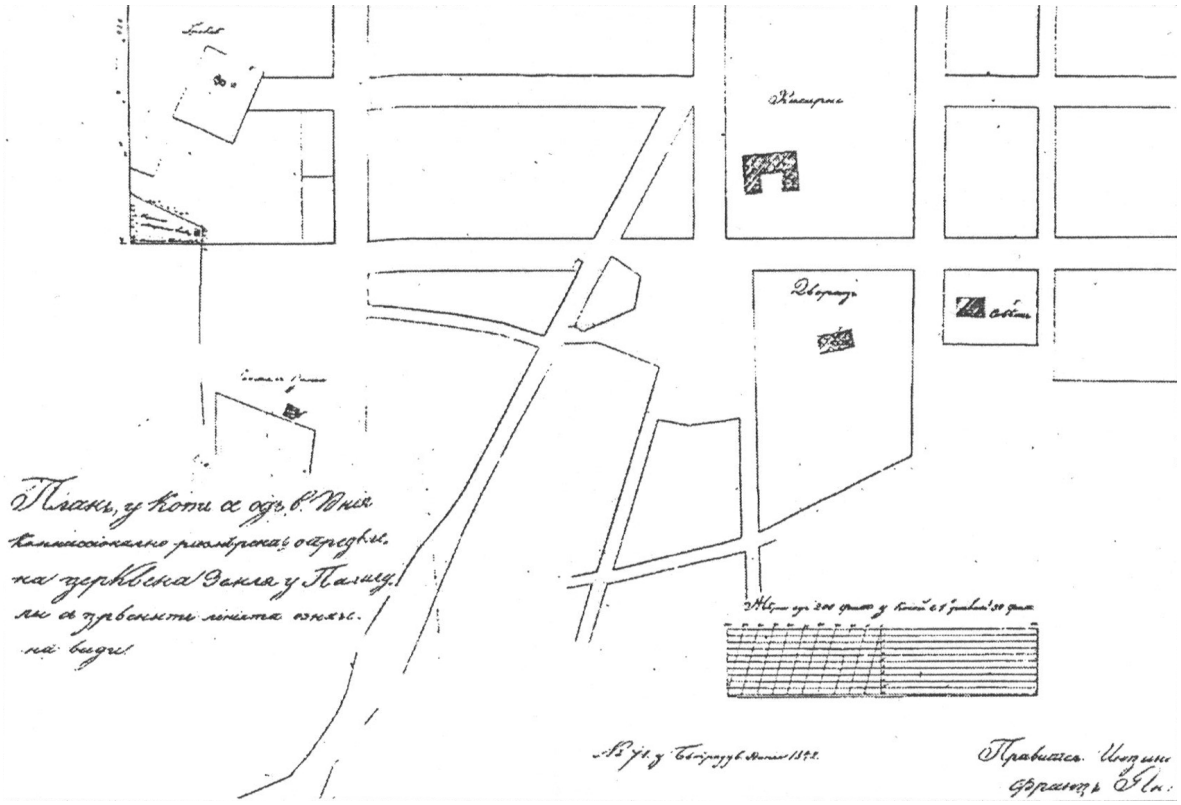

Illustration 7: Janke's 1842 plan for the Palilula area. It shows the existing structures of the Great Barracks (shaped П) and the State Council.

Archival records indicate that interventions on the empty plots of land outside the city retrenchments also produced contradiction and conflict. A month and a half prior to the publishing of the plan, Minister Cvetko Rajović pleaded with the Council on behalf of the Belgrade Municipality to determine the exact boundary its authority, "so that they might enjoy income and defend their rights from posession by locals."[159] Rajović prefaced his letter by referring to a ban on "Turkish land transactions," namely the sale of land to Christian speculators by Muslim land-owners from within the city retrenchments. In a letter presenting the 1842 plan, Rajović repeated his concerns over land speculation in the area.[160] As Rajović explains, many clerks sought to expand their Savamala property holdings outwards, into unregulated areas. The problem was not that they were given plots by the state, but that they "did not belong to them, neither by title nor by [economic] stature". The area "needed to be classified", he stated.[161] Rajović continues to lament that all those who received plots in the first class are not interested in building houses to live in, but rather accrue income from, since they already owned property inside the entrenched town and/or in the Savamala. His letters showcase the contradictory transformations engendered by the dispossession in the Savamala, where ambitions of the state were increasingly frustrated by local residents and upwardly-mobile clerks who sought to profit from the construction boom.

Institutions, Competition And State Authority

In 1842, during the heyday of Constitutionalist rule, a new administrative body was proposed to handle the construction of public buildings. The novelty of the institution in the Serbian context was reflected in its name – it was to officially be called both the Slavic

159 AS. DS. 1842, No. 550
160 AS. DS. 1842, br. 560
161 Ibid

Upraviteljstvo javni postrojenija and the German shorthand *Bau-direkcija*. In the draft of its law, regulators envisioned a tight relationship between the management of people, space, and the economy:

> "Just as no state-building profession cannot be without a Manager of People and Deeds, so cannot the State Economy survive evading risk and damage, without one body made of multiple limbs, which will take special care and watch of it... The need of such a body was seen by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, even in the beginning of its being … having so-far experienced in many trials, that the Economy of the State and All the People, in regard to construction on land and water, not only cannot survive with profit, but rather wastes endless sums of money from the People's Till..."[162]

The design of such regulations shows the extent to which the management of space, population, and social relations ("the Economy") were seen to be part of a common assemblage. This assemblage, the metaphorical national body was envisioned to reconfigure its organs to fulfill a productive capacity, i.e. to survive "with profit."

The *Bau-direkcija* bill envisioned a central administrative department whose activities were broadly construed as the "autonomous" regulation of all construction on land or water. The department was to cooperate with the Belgrade City Government, the military, district chiefs, and the postal service.[163] "Even private" buildings were to come under its jurisdiction, for the *Baudirekcija* must have "a Commission of beautification, something which all newly-constructed States and cities must succumb to." For its purposes, the department was to organize local technical education, designed in a way to provide every city and town with their own engineer.[164] Economizing and management are mutually reinforced in the proposal, describing not only how artisan labor is to be managed "according to plan", but also that the purpose of such management

162 AS. DS. 1842, br. 564, l. 4-4v
163 AS. DS. 1842, br. 564, l. 5v
164 Ibid, l. 6

is precisely to reduce costs.[165] Engineers were envisioned as the supervisors of construction labor, materials, billing, and craft work. The bill also introduces the possibility of public bidding for the provision of materials[166] and moves quality control to the Manager of the *Direkcija* "to whom all limbs are at disposal to". The *Bau-direkcija* law represented bourgeois ambitions for an urban future in which "the Economy of the State and All the People" was infinitely reconfigurable - productive, efficient, and profitable.

Although the bill was never fully adopted, it lived on in the laws of the 1840s, which continued to reflect its internal logic.[167] In 1841, together with the permanent hiring of Habsburg-educated experts such as Franc Janke and Baron Cordon, civil architecture first became a subject in the Belgrade Lycee.[168] New attempts to educate an autochtonous corps of engineers and experts continued in 1846, when an engineer's school was established.[169] That same year, following the ideas of beautification mentioned in the *Bau-direkcija* draft, the first aesthetic prescripts on construction were placed. [170] Buildings had to be "decorated", their frontage had to be lined with the street, and streets had to be straight-lined.[171] The regulations effectively limited the ability of guilds to construct Ottoman-style Balkan houses, and ultimately transformed the aesthetic language of the cityscape.

Other laws in the 1840s regulated how construction work was to be done, banning the

165 Ibid, l. 8-8v
166 Ibid, 8v
167 For a larger history of building regulations in 19th century Serbia, see Divna Đurić Zamolo, "Najraniji pravni propisi iz oblasti arhitekture i urbanizma u Srbiji XIX veka 1835-1865." in *Gradska kultura na Balkanu, XV-XIX vek - zbornik radova*, (Beograd: Balkanološki institut SANU: 1988) Đurić-Zamolo also offers a similar periodization, in which the mid-1840s were a turning-point.
168 Đurić-Zamolo, *Graditelji ...*, 10
169 Knjažestvo Srbsko, *Zbornik zakona i uredaba u Knjaževini Srbiji* Vol. III, (Beograd: Knjigopečatnica knjažestva srbskog, 1847), 114-115
170 Divna Đurić Zamolo, "Najraniji pravni propisi…," 155-156
171 Ibid, 157

building of any new edifices without the consult of a licensed engineer.[172] This act meant that the mason and hewer masters were relinquished of their controlling role in the management of journeymen and a growing reserve army of wage labor. The engineers reigned above guild regulations, as the city's population grew. The hewers guild, led by Hadži-Nikola Živković, protested the “foreign newcomers” as early as 1838, stating that their coffers were emptier by the day, as engineers and free laborers did not pay into the common pool.[173] Their request was denied.[174] By 1847, an engineer’s approval became mandatory for all construction.[175] Street paving by European-style (unilateral) cobblestones, in contrast to irregular Ottoman ones, also became a frequent activity because of the pressures put on the administrative branch by the Commission formed for the execution of Janke’s plan.[176] Builders were warned to follow the regulatory plan, the application of which was to be inspected by the town engineer and the police.[177] Mapped conceptualizations of urban space were made manifest through the numbering of houses and the bifurcation of the city into the old town within the entrenchments, and the new quarters outside.[178] After 1844, streets were officially named for the first time, and informative dark blue boards with white lettering were to be placed on all buildings.[179] The purpose of these organizing measures had been to privilege institutionalized planning and construction practices. Spaces produced by licensed engineers and wage labor became increasingly enclosed within a legal framework that excluded *taifas* and guilds. The cumulative effect of these changes was the

172 IAB, UGB, 20 Apr 1842. K. 17, F II 422
173 AS. DS 1838, reproduced in Tihomir R. Đorđević. *Arhivska građa za zanate i esnafe u Srbiji od Drugog ustanka do Esnafkse uredbe 1847. godine*. Srpski etnografski zbornik, 33, No. 15 (1925),144
174 Ibid, p. 146
175 IAB, UGB, 16 Jul 1847. K. 77 F VII, 2090
176 IAB, UGB, 25 Jul 1847. K. 77, F VII, 2214
177 IAB. UGB, 23 Feb 1850. K. 130, F III 573
178 IAB, UGB, 18 Dec 1843. No. 2068
179 IAB, UGB, 19. May 1844. K. 30, 216

gradual dissolution of the social basis that supported masons and hewers guilds as ways of organizing labor.

Between the 1840s and 1860s, these regulations propelled the masons' and hewers' guilds into a serious crisis. In his wider study of the downfall of the guild system in Serbia, Nikola Vučo discusses how economic pressures of changing social relations reflected down the guild hierarchy. Increased competition from foreign contractors pushed guild masters to close ranks against journeymen and apprentices. Vučo cites several cases in which masters used accusations of theft to avoid paying the yearly salary of journeymen.[180] Throughout the two decades, there were numerous requests for aid from guild institutions from impoverished masters.[181] Tensions between journeymen and apprentices flared as well. In 1865, the year of the bulk purchase of Muslim properties, journeymen complained to the masters' council of the guild that apprentices "should not come to the tavern and take the journeyman's chair in front of his nose without any respect."[182] The atmosphere of competition with foreign contractors, outlined in the 1838 letter, had trickled down. Foreign (mostly Habsburg) contractors had continued to eschew registration in the guilds, leading to subsequent complaints in the 1860s.[183] The introduction of technical knowledge also raised the bar of entry in masters exams. For example, in 1865, the journeyman Atanasije failed his exam, after being presented with a test riddled with German words. When Atanasije complained that he did not learn this material at all, he was considered to have confessed his incapability of being a master.[184] The economic condition of masons and hewers

180 Nikola Vučo, *Raspadanje..*, vol. 2, 271
181 IAB. Esnaf zidarsko tesački (EZT), 1851-1864, f. V, cited in Vučo, *Raspadanje*., vol. 2, 149
182 IAB. EZT, 1865-1866, br. 6, cited in Vučo, *Raspadanje*., vol. 2, 211
183 IAB, EZT, 1865-1866, f. VI, br. 103 cited in Nikola Vučo, *Raspadanje..*, vol. 1, 135
184 AGB. EZT, 1865-1866, br. 203 See also the case of Ćira Todorović of that same year, Ibid, br. 194, cited in Vučo, *Raspadanje*., vol. 2, 315

had been poor, but particularly exacerbated by the arrival of unorganized seasonal labor, which was willing to work for lower wages.[185] Responding to financial pressures, masters hired seasonal, unlicensed wage laborers instead of journeymen and apprentices, further exacerbating the precarious position of guild members.[186] While state officials envisioned the development of local knowledge and industry, their demands for profit created conditions which privileged foreign expertise based on wage labor. After the mid-1840s, the economic position of construction workers became increasingly precarious, in spite of Belgrade's rapid growth.

Even plans for simple public buildings in this period reveal how different aesthetic demands exacerbated the transformation of the building process, privileging new forms of skilled knowledge. In 1846, the city municipality met in order to build a new school in the area of Terazije, near the top of the Belgrade craig between Savamala and Palilula.[187] The current school was deemed "too tight" and "harmful to the health of the youth", so a "new and comfortable" building had to be made. The municipality had suggested a ground-floor building, whose entrance and facade faced the yard, with two large arced windows and a door. The style of the building was vaguely neoclassical, with the only decoration being small stylized friezes above the windows.[188] This design went in line with the careful employment of classical elements by Hadži-Nikola Živković and other guild masters in the public buildings of the 1830s. The proposal thus employed an architectural language that was already-intelligible to the city's population. In tradition with Ottoman bondruk construction, the main facade was to be located towards the yard, while the street side was to have a series of windows and not much else. The

185 Vučo outlines this process of transformation, linking it to the surge of construction in Belgrade, see Vučo, *Raspadanje, v*ol. 1, 383-385.
186 IAB. EZT, 1865-66, f. VII, br. 183 cited in Ibid, 385
187 IAB Opština Grada Beograda (OGB) k. 480 br. 7. IAB, l. 1
188 Ibid, "Plan #347", l. 3

municipality presented a conservative, austere plan based on need.

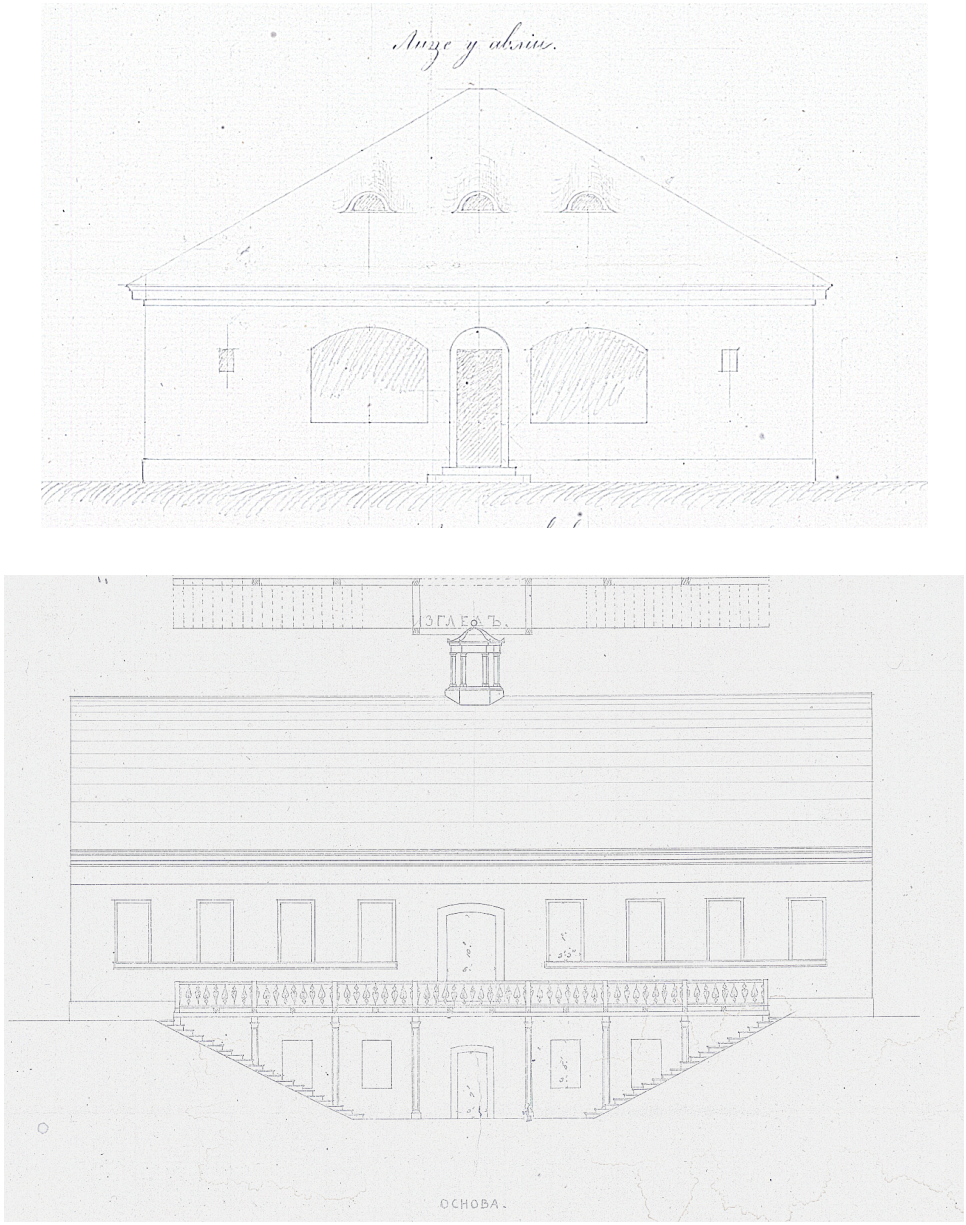

Illustration 8: Two competing projects for the Terazije school (1846). The design proposed by the municipality is above, while Jan Nevole's design is below.

The city manager Vulović disagreed with the principle, requesting a more complex plan for the new school. Authored by the Czech architect Jan Nevole it included two large staircases and a facade facing the street.[189] The building proposal had a basement and top floor, as well as a cupola on the roof. Just three days after Nevole completed his preliminary sketch, Vulović rejected the old project and approved the more elaborate plan.[190] The example of the Terazije school reveals a trajectory of transformation which pushed architectural development based on Ottoman-forms out of the visual vocabulary of the city. The adopted proposal did not have functional differences – it had allotted the same amount of space to classrooms and school activities. Rather, its major intervention was towards the street, interacting with the outside. When Vulović and Nevole overruled the original proposal for the Terazije school, they did not just represent the twin authorities of state and expertise. They also presented a new aesthetic language for the entire city, one better-suited to the ongoing transformation of social relations.

Following these new aesthetic prescripts, several multi-storied edifices were raised in the city during the 1840s. The most significant was the "Srpska kruna" hotel, built in 1846 by the politician-turned-merchant, Stojan Simić. Better known as the "New Edifice" (*Novo zdanje*), the building was one of the first large interventions within the city retrenchments, built in the classicist style with frontage that straddled the width of the plot and classicist facades.[191] Like the Terazije school design, the New Edifice employed a symbolic language to communicate with the outside. Its owner, Stojan Simić was a "brilliant merchant mind," who had made his fortune in Wallachia.[192] Lauded as a visionary, he built an immense mansion on the outskirts of the city, not

189 Ibid, 12.7.1846. "Plan #1669", l. 4
190 Ibid, 15.7.1846, l. 2
191 Andrić, 79. Stojan was the brother of Aleksa Simić, a one-time collaborator of Prince Miloš, merchant, and Constitutionalist politician.
192 Društvo srbske slovesnosti, *Glasnik Društva Srbske Slovesnosti* (Beograd: Knjigopečatnica knjažestva Serbie,

far from the Batal Mosque, later selling it to the new Karađorđević dynasty as their court.[193] The building would become one of the city's landmarks, and was the royal residence well into the twentieth century. Although local historiography remembers Simić as a man trapped between the dynastic struggles of Serbia's two dynasties, his buildings represent perhaps the first direct investments of merchant capital in Belgrade's cityscape.

As Andrej Mitrović has shown, the 1840s were a period where ideas of liberal capitalism began to penetrate Serbian society, with proposals to create a national bank.[194] The country was bankless at the time, with low levels of credit penetration. Large-scale capital was largely tied up in the exploitation of salt mining operations in Wallachia and Moldavia, transported in the Sava-Danube river system. By the mid nineteenth century, Serbian merchant elites dominated river trade "from Sisak [in Habsburg Croatia] to the Sulina on the Black Sea".[195] An 1829 letter to Prince Miloš echoes the sense of endless financial potential which pervaded the visions of mechant elites:: "Here coins fall like rain for salt, and I am assured it will remain like this forever as long as the salt trade is *in your hands*."[196] In the early 1850s, Miloš' business partner, Captain Miša Anastasijević, had established a monopoly on the Danubian salt trade after surviving political turmoil during the rise of the Constitutionalists. Anastasijević was perhaps the largest employer in the Balkans at the time, with over 10 000 workers, 23 branches in river ports, and a fleet of 74 ships carrying cargo.[197] In 1857, the so-called "Danube Rotschild" hired Jan Nevole

1853), 293

193 *Pomenik*, 648

194 Andrej Mitrović. "Banka sa kapitalom na akcije" *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju – Annual for Social History,* VII, No. 2-3, (2000), accessed Jul 4, 2016, http://www.udi.rs/dod_god.asp?cla=153

195 Mirjana Marinković, "Kapetan Miša Anastasijević i turski brodari" *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju*, 52 (1996): 117-124

196 Stojan Simić's brother, Aleksa, cited in Danica Milić. "Bukureška agencija srpsko-vlaška trgovina solju" *Istorijski časopis*, XVIII (1971), 350 and Marinković, 118; Two decades later, plans to restructure Belgrade's city core would employ the same imagery.

197 Marinković, p. 120

(the author of the Terazije school plan) to build a palace his daughter Sara, poised to become the Princess of Serbia.

Today's rectorate of Belgrade University, Captain Miša's Edifice is a grandiose building with Moorish influences.[198] Anastasijević had reinvested the profit from his salt dealings into political influence. His monopoly trade was deeply dependent on close ties with the political establishment.[199] Half of the congealed labor of Wallachian and Moldavian miners, Danubian sailors, and Balkan peasants went into the construction of the building, and half into the political scheme to make his son-in-law heir to the throne. In this, Anastasijević followed the cue of Belgrade's urban elite which emerged through marriage arrangements designed to protect wealth by cementing political and financial ties.[200] Miša's Edifice communicated wealth and power to the city's public and his potential oponents. It was the first three-storied building within the entrenchments, with an elaborate facade whose Viennese-manufactured ornaments faced the central Grand Market.[201] Its sheer size spoke a new language and produced novel uses – during the riots of 1862, the construction site served as a makeshift fortress for the combatters. Ultimately, plans to crown his son-in-law, Đorđe, were thwarted by the re-election of the aging Prince Miloš. In the struggle between Serbian elites, Anastasijević lost his influential political and economic position. He chose to bequeath the building to “his fatherland” upon completion five years later, retiring to his estates in Wallachia. Captain Miša’s Edifice symbolizes the merchant’s failed attempts to take sole control of state power, testifying to increased attention

198 See Illustration 9

199 Marinković notes that Anastasijević's position was jeopardized by an accusation of Vidin Muslim boatmen in the 1850s of collaboration with the Russians during the Crimean war. The merchant had immediately mobilized not only the Serbian statesman Ilija Garašanin, but also the French consuls Renoir and Seguire. Marinković, 120

200 Bataković list the famous family-marriages of the mid-1800s in “Belgrade in the Nineteenth Century: A Historical Survey” *Serbian Studies*, 16, vol. 2 (2002): 344 For more on the interplay between capital, the commodity economy and gender in ninetenth-centry Belgrade, see Chapter Three.

201 Makaš, 49

Serbian elites had for Belgrade inside the retrenchments.

Illustration 9: Captain Miša's Edifice, 1867

The period between 1830 and 1862 was a time of immense urban transformation in Belgrade. The initial dispossession of the Savamala was meant to solidify political and, hence, economic control over customs duties and river trade which kept Prince Miloš in power. Increased development based on the Savamala model was prevented outside the city's retrenchments, in part by local residents who fought against initial plans to regulate the inland Palilula area. The newly-emerging clerk class sought to profit from land speculation, troubling officials' visions for the production of new urban space. The changing cityscape became a site of

struggle over the management of surplus extraction between various Serbian elites, whose interests were at times contradictory. Simultaneously, Habsburg-educated experts found employment in the burgeoning state apparatus and the private sector. Their activities exacerbated the precarious position of masons' and hewers' guilds, gradually eroded through competition and new legal regulations. Together, these factors made plausible a myriad of transformations which further transformed social relations within the city. Belgrade's space entered the commodity economy head-on – surplus capital, labor power, construction materials and expertise all pushed elites to envision further expansion towards the city's entrenchments.

The 1840s and 50s were also a period in which the Serbian legal and property systems were being hastily divorced from the Ottoman order. There was a gradual expansion of laws which dispossessed the Muslim rentier elites – their "abandoned lands" were nationalized in 1839, and "remaining lands in the countryside" were bought out in 1843.[202] As we saw in Janke's regulation of Terazije and Palilula, the redistribution of properties was strictly governed by the logic of class and reserved for members of the new bureaucratic order. In 1845, the rights of "Turks" in the sale and purchase of plots of land were directed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[203] Immediately after the Crimean War, courts also began to confiscate Muslim properties outside the town retrenchments.[204] The confiscation decree was based on the fact that the 1833 autonomy rescript limited Muslims to the cities. This meant that the new quarters built in the Savamala, Palilula and Terazije areas were excluded from the habitation of solely Ottoman (and not dual) subjects. Two years later, engineers were tasked to calculate the value of all properties

202 Knjažestvo Srbija, *Zbornik zakona i uredaba u Knjaževini Srbiji*, vol. XXX (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1877), 255-6, *Zbornik*, vol. III, 168

203 *Zbornik*, vol. III, 86

204 Knjažestvo Srbija, *Zbornik zakona i uredaba u Knjaževini Srbiji*, vol. X, (Beograd: Praviteljstvena knjigopečatnja, 1857), 76

within the intramural town ("varoš").[205]

The existence of dual regimes of authority – even if both were increasingly similar to one another – was a hindrance to the ongoing transformation of social relations. In this sense, the exclusion of Belgrade's Muslims *as non-subjects* from the legal system also meant the exclusion of the Ottoman state. In 1850, a Serbian law established property books (*baštinske knjige*), which for the first time introduced a central repository into which all claims to land were to be recorded.[206] Previously, land was regulated through the *resm-i tapu* system, in which tax farming and usufruct property were combined to give control over land to peasants and urban residents. A person's evidence for ownership was a *tapija* (ot. tur. *tapu*), a document which recorded changes in the status of land and rested with its owner. After 1850, however, the evidence rested with the government. Importantly, the new regulation introduced the ability to mortgage plots for the purpose of loans, and extended the role of the property books as a guarantee of ownership. Similar transformations took place in the Ottoman legal system. The Ottoman Land Code of 1858 also introduced central recording of *tapu* rights, abolished collective ownership and helped precipitate the commodification of land.[207] Both in Serbia and the rest of the Empire, this new regulation on property rights was part of an ongoing transformation of the *tapu* system from the sixteenth century onwards into a system of private property guaranteed by the state.[208] Serbian and Ottoman urban subjects were both witness to a process of bourgeois world-building in which

205 Knjažestvo Srbija, *Zbornik zakona i uredaba u Knjaževini Srbiji*, vol. XII, (Beograd: Praviteljstvena knjigopečatnja, 1857), 45 This was part of a larger state-wide movement to delineate and value all urban properties. More on this in Divna Đurić Zamolo, "Najraniji propisi.."

206 Knjažestvo Srbija, *Zbornik zakona i uredaba u Knjaževini Srbiji*, vol. V, (Beograd: Praviteljstvena knjigopečatnja, 1853), 126

207 E Attila.Aytekin, "Agrarian Relations, Property and Law: An Analysis of the Land Code of 1858 in the Ottoman Empire." *Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 6 (November 1, 2009): 935–51

208 Anton Minkov, "Ottoman Tapu Title Deeds In The Eighteenth And Nineteenth Centuries: Origin, Typology And Diplomatics." *Islamic Law and Society* 7, no. 1 (February 1, 2000): 65–101.

space became real-estate and plots of land became valued not only as resources for extraction, but fully-fledged commodities in the circuit of exchange.

The conflict between Serbian and Ottoman legal systems in Belgrade was thus a conflict over the right to set the terms of exchange and consequently, to control profit from the commodification of space itself. A year prior to the riots, Serbian minister Ilija Garašanin outlined a letter questioning the political reality of the existence of two police forces in the city.[209] Belgrade *intra muros* was a site of dual authority which disturbed applications of political control. This was not only a conflict over who will collect taxes, but also about the very ability to set enclosures, to "develop" and "classify" land, to yield profit from the city's potential. The process of primary accumulation in the city meant dispossession and enclosure through force, that made possible the emergence of real-estate as a commodity-form. Enclosing urban space required monopolizing instruments of force and establishing nation-state control over the institutionalization of private property.

Visions For The Ottoman City Core

The existence of dual governance meant that Serbian subjects could evade state authorities by settling in Dorćol, away from local jurisdiction. Serbian police depended on Ottoman law enforcement to apprehend the fugitives.[210] While temporal power was clearly separate, the city was only nominally bifurcated for its residents. The level of trade and mutual interaction was fairly high between Belgraders, even after governmental regulation had made it difficult. People of different faiths continued to work together and shop from each other, all the while participating in a shared culture of everyday life. As early as 1838, the municipal

209 AS. DS. Fond Ilije Garašanina (IG), 1861 No. 1214, 2587/30
210 IAB, UGB, 12 Jun 1840. K. 8, F. II 290

government banned Muslim visitors from licensed taverns.[211] Eleven years later, we can see that the ban was only partially effective, as a tavern owner by the name of Sreten Petrović still had to guarantee that 'Turks' would not enter his establishment under threat of closure.[212] Although real-estate deals with Muslims were not honoured in Serbian courts, the rag-picker Kosta Mišić dared in August 1860 to sell his plot of land to 'whom indeed – a Turk!'[213] The details of the court case suggest that Mišić exploited the state of dual authority in the city, by selling the plot in front of an Ottoman judge, rather than petitioning for a Serbian deed. Christians went to Muslim surgeons, even when they were members of the "occupying" Ottoman military.[214] They bought guns together in taverns, although they were not very safe in handling them.[215] In fact, Christian Belgraders were so familiar with their "non-European" neighbours, that they used their language to curse at the governmental authorities.[216] The multi-ethnic culture of the city, its varied spatial configuration, and dual temporal authority countered the narrative of unilateral progress. More importantly, the entrenched city represented an immense, untapped resource of potential expansion for the Serbian principality and the elites at its head. The riots and subsequent bombardment of the city in 1862 allowed for the execution of a plan that would rectify the problem of its separation.

The transformation of Dorćol, Belgrade's Muslim and Jewish quarter, involved an immensely complex process of creative accounting which utilized state pressures in order to purchase Muslim properties in bulk. Certainly, there were other political and social motivations

211 IAB, UGB. 1838. K 2, F 182
212 IAB, UGB, 1848. K. 98, F. 3000
213 IAB, UGB, 1860. K. 488, F XII 287
214 IAB UGB, 1847, k. 65 br. 87
215 IAB UGB 1849, k. 100 f. I br. 8a.
216 IAB, UGB, 1840. K. 10, F IV, 642

for the transfer of control over the intramural city from Ottoman control to the autonomous Serbian government.[217] However, the emphasis on notions of possession and particularly the properties of Muslim civilians remained a significant factor.[218] The first article of the Kanlica treaty which ended hostilities that began in the riots stated that "the entire area of the city of Belgrade will be under the management of Serbian authorities", while its third subsection notied that "the property of Muslims in Belgrade will belong to the Serbs, with compensation".[219] Historiography takes up the argument of Felix Kanitz, that the Muslim population left because it was banned from living as Serbian subjects by the sultan.[220] This ignores the realities of the situation – by the time of the Kanlica treaty, Belgrade's Muslims already left their houses and had been living in the city's fortress for months, their only supplies coming in by water. Many had already moved during the summer, while others were transported after the conference treaty by steamships to Vidin, Brčko and Lom.[221] Choosing to resettle Muslims elsewhere, to purchase their homes and shops in bulk, and then develop a project of reconstructing the core was a political decision that made sense because it took place in context of thirty years of urban change.

217 The entire process is well described by Mišković, 191-215

218 A similar logic would be utilized after Serbian independence in 1878, when the state purchased the properties of Muslims in the sanjak of Niš, assigned to the country by the Great powers at the Berlin Congress. The 1880 Law on Agrarian Relations in the New Regions (*Zakon o agrarnim odnosima u novim krajevima*) prescribed restitution to Muslim landowners, and distributed land to peasants and colonists. Two years later, the Serbian state took out an international loan to purchase the lands, while transfering the debt to the resident peasants. Many of them remained indebted well into the early 20th century.

219 Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Serbien – Historisch-ehnographische Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1859-1868* (Leipzig: Fries, 1868), 504

220 Ibid,215

221 In the second half of September 1862, 2652 people were resettled in three trips to Lom, Vidin and Brčko. After 1878, Muslim Belgraders would remain as a community only in Brčko. Those who had gone to Lom Palanka had walked to Niš and Şehirköy/Pirot, but were forced to exile yet again, after the city was incorporated into Serbia with the Treaty of Berlin. Those who had wound up in Vidin left mostly during the Russo-Turkish War which created the Bulgarian Principality. These and other consequences of the Kanlica conference are better described in Ayşe Özkan. "Kanlıca Konferansı Sonrasında Müslümanların Sırbistan'dan Çıkarılmaları ve Osmanlı Devleti'nin Sırbistan'dan Çekilişi (1862-1867)" (1862-1867)" *Gazi – Akademik Bakis*, 5, No. 9 (Winter 2011): 123-137

The idea of possessing the Ottoman city core was an important factor in the thoughts of political actors at the time. Nikola Hristić, the Minister of Internal Affairs during the crisis, noted in his memoirs: "Now we, the Serbian government, remain alone the masters of the *varoš,* without any meddling of the Turks"[222] He also points out that "we found that this opportunity was the most appropriate, to demand and to work on, that the Turks should move out from the *varoš,* and that all the Ottoman soldiers (*nizams*) should retreat to the fortress."[223] It is certainly possible that this was a *post facto* projection that equated the civilian and military parts of the city. However it is important to consider the context of the previous three decades of urban change and particularly the large-scale takeover of Muslim properties that began as soon as the houses were vacant.

This was the beginning of a second wave of dispossession which transformed Belgrade's cityscape in its plans to restructure the city. In the context of rising precarity in the city, the riots allowed the urban poor to redistribute the properties of Muslim residents. This disorder, however, affirmed the thesis of inter-ethnic incompatibility lauded by state planners and justified the state take-over of the deserted properties. Hristić notes the "lower class" of the 1862 rioters, the "*bećari* [single, precariously employed men], workers and those who did not have that concern [of assault and robbery, i.e. those who were not propertied]".[224] In 1859, 62% of Belgraders were male, many of them recent immigrants into the capital.[225] Perhaps the violent nature of the riots revealed a pent-up anger of city's dispossessed, who sought to solve their individual miseries by squatting the properties of the propertied Muslims. Migrants from the Habsburg Banat had taken

222 Nikola Hristić's memoirs of the 1862 riots were partially published in 1923 by his son, Kosta Hristić.Hristić, 194
223 Hristić, 183
224 Hristić, 190
225 Čubrilović, *Istorija…*, 270-288

advantage of the fighting as well, taking apart the houses for material to sell or keep warm. “Not a single one [house] has a door, window, kitchen, not one piece of iron, or floor, and everything that could be taken by hand and carried away is gone.” wrote a Dorćol policeman to the city government in February 1864.[226] Further reports from April suggest that Roma travelers had squatted the desolate Muslim houses due to the “strong winter”, which had bothered the local Jewish residents.[227] During the previous year, those same residents hired migrant Jews from “Turkey” who had moved to the neighborhood looking for work as servants.[228] As Nataša Mišković has argued: “the poor of the provinces sought a source of income and needed housing space in the besieged city.”[229] She describes in detail how, even after the hostilities ended, new legal Christian owners had trouble getting money from those who squatted the buildings.[230] It was this disorder that gave legitimacy to the demand of Serbian political authorities to administer Muslim properties and take the city into their own hands.

In total, 1118 buildings were the subject of takeover negotiations between the Ottoman and Serbian governments.[231] While the negotiations over the purchase of the properties lasted until 1865, already two years prior the properties of many Belgrade Muslims were assessed. The several archival documents related to these assesments were analyzed by Vidosava Nikolić, who reconstructed the socio-economic make-up of the Muslim population. Her work showcases the clear shift in economic power from Muslim rentiers towards Christian elites that took place in

226 IAB. UGB. 1864, k. 738, f. V, l. 112
227 IAB. UGB. 1864, k. 738 f. XII, 78
228 IAB. UGB. 1863, K. 662 f. XI, l. 499
229 Mišković, 216
230 This particular case reveals the hierarchy of rent in pre-1862 Belgrade. The squatter, a certain Milena, had taken over the apartment of Steva Subotić, a subleaser of the Christian tenant himself, Nikola Vujović who would become the new legal proprietor after the departure of the owner, Mahmud Ejupović. The tenant Vulović was an accountant clerk, who utilized his petitionary know-how to get his squatter ultimately evicted. cf. Mišković, 217-220
231 Mišković, 216

the first half of the nineteenth century. There had been relatively few absentee landlords - titled elites (agas, beys and pashas) comprised 22 out of the 185 properties listed in the 1863 assesment. Nikolić notes that prior to 1862, there were very few wealthy Muslim families, and most were “middle stature” subsisting on low rents of 5-1000 *groš*.[232] The majority of the population had been involved in small crafts or held shops (the two most common trades were butcher and fishmonger). While not money-wealthy, their property comprised one third of the city's total housing stock of 3085 buildings.[233]

Historians give mixed accounts of the amount of money paid for these properties, but it ranges between 7.5 million and 9 million *groš*, or between six and eight thousand per building.[234] According to Ayşe Özkan, the negotiations began with a six-fold difference in suggested property values (36 000 vs 6 000 *kese*, or 18 vs 3 million *groša*/*gurus*), breaking down without agreement, until the final settlement on December 5th, 1865, of three yearly payments of 3 million.[235] This means that the average price of a house was slightly higher than the 1839 cost of Anica's basement, and was sold to the Serbian state on a three-year interest-free payment plan. The bulk-purchase of one third of the city's real-estate had dispossessed poor Muslim families, whose houses were not only taken but who had to accept negotiated compensation. Wealthier Muslims, such as Kasi beg, the ware-house owner (*magazadžija*), had received higher payment,

232 Vidosava Nikolić, “Turska dobra I stanovništvo u Beogradu u vreme bombardovanja 1862. godine” *Godišnjak grada Beograda* IX-X, (1962-1963), 287

233 Nikolić notes 2282 houses, but this contradicts the statistical overview of the city for 1862 found in IAB. UGB. 6 Jul 1863, k. 651 f. VI l. 412 which gives us 3085 houses.

234 AS. Pokloni i otkupi (PO) K-121/58, as cited in Nikolić, *Turska dobra*.. the total economic value was assessed to be 7 582 980, however Mišković gives the figure of nine million. Mišković, 216. Ayşe Özkan also argues that the negotiated amount had been 9 million, citing that after the breakdown of negotiations, there was a final Serbian offer of 15 000 *kese* (7.5 million) that was increased first to 16 000 and then to 18 000 kese. Özkan, p. 132

235 Özkan, pp. 133-4

but even in such cases assessments varied three or four-fold between asked and received costs.[236] There were considerable political interests in the sale of Muslim properties. In late February 1863, the prime-minister, Ilija Garašanin, having theorized the takeover of the inner city two years earlier, invited Nikola Krstić, a lawyer and police chief, to a dinner. He requested that Krstić write an article "regarding the sale of Turkish houses".[237] By 1867 most of Dorćol had been in the hands of Serbian elites or their nascent state.

That year, the urban plan which would be implemented within the entrenchments was published by Emilijan Josimović, a friend and acquaintance of Krstić.[238] Born in the Habsburg Banat, Josimović was another former student of the Vienna Polytechnic Institute, who had come to Belgrade in 1845 to take up a contractual professorship of mathematics at the Belgrade Lyceé.[239] Soon after his arrival to Serbia, he became involved in cultural and social institutions.[240] Josimović saw urban space and national enlightenment as intimately connected, and he argued for the necessity of "breaking away with the dark Asiatic customs and prejudices so that all that is advanced, beautiful and good should cling on to us."[241] The motto with which he signed his work, "Number and measurement – my faith", emphasized the supreme role of technological and

236 Kasi beg's property was assessed by the Ottoman commission at 30 000 *groš,* and 12 000 by the Serbian. Suleyman aga Yuzbasi's 35 000 property was assessed at 14 500. While certainly both commissions had defended their respective interests the large fluctuation in price indicates the arbitrariness of valorization. AS. PO. K 121/58 cited in Nikolić, 284

237 Nikola Krstić, *Dnevnik - Privatni I Javni život,* vol. 2, (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2005), p. 25 Not to be confused with the similarly-named Nikola Hristić. Garašanin may have used Krstić as a mouth-piece – he gave him sketches for a letter and discussed policy of seeking conflict with Muslims. (p. 18) Krstić's diary described in detail his relationships with sex workers, as discussed in Chapter Three.

238 Josimović made a tombstone for Nikola Krstić's friend, whose widow then became Nikola's long-standing erotic obsession. Together the two men discussed publishing critical works on Vuk Karadžić. Krstić, *Dnevnik II,* 15

239 Nikić, 39

240 Josimović was a member of the Society of Serbian Letters (*Društvo srpske slovesnosti*) and its successor, the Serbian Learned Society (*Srpsko učeno društvo*). His older brother was a merchant that cooperated with Miša Anastasijević, and supported his brother's education, first at the Habsburg military school in Lugoj/Lugos, Banat, and then the Vienna Polytechnic.

241 Nikić, 35.

scientific expertise in ushering such enlightenment.

Josimović justified his plan with the need for "business benefit, comfort, security, [and] good police supervision…"[242] The "40 or so" cul-de-sacs he intended to do away with due to their "ugliness" and their "overall insecurity…[as].. havens for all kinds of impurities." He argued for the benefit of large parks as reservoirs of air by referring to American cities - Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. The plan also included provisions for converting the remaining entrenchments into a series of parks devoted to figures in the Serbian national revival movement.[243] The streets, which he deemed as too narrow and useless, were envisioned in a wide, right-angled grid. The central market was to be transformed into a large square, preferably with a monument to the national saint Sava, or "a nice church in the pure Byzantine style." The towns mosques, however, were "strictly limited," and left to the government's disposal, while four which violated the plan would have to be demolished. All plots should be classified according to quality and assessed for value, with the highest property prices near the future square of the national saint, St. Sava.[244] The plan, having been written in January 1867, before the transfer of jurisdiction over the cities to the Principality took place, also included a final comment:

> 'Belgrade is destined due to its fortuitous position, to be one of the most important trading towns on the eastern dry land of Europe. For this to indeed take place, it is disturbed more by the fact that the city is not in our hands than by our tight financial and industrial condition. Should that obstacle be removed, i.e. should the city fall in our hands … then it would be so usefully transformed and uplifted in just a decade that it would not even be comparable to now.'[245]

242 Josimović, 7. The close relationship between business and security/police supervision is not by accident. In fact, the development of a security apparatus was instrumental in the building of bourgeois worlds in the Balkans. For more on this see Chapter Four.
243 Ibid., 10, 28
244 Ibid, 36-37
245 Ibid., 41

In Josimović's final remarks, the personified city is "disturbed" by its political condition, prevented from realizing the potential of its "fortuitous position." In order to receive proper governance, it should fall into the hands of the Serbian Principality because of its unique technological ability to transform urban space. The plan was a modern endeavour which called upon American models to justify its transformative project. Its vision of progress meant creating a favorable environment for industry, the movement of commodities and capital. The old town of Ottoman heritage, together with its "crooked-streets and slender minarets" was irrelevant – it was rarely even mentioned. Rather it figured as a blank canvas for the educated planner, an expert in urban metamorphosis.[246]

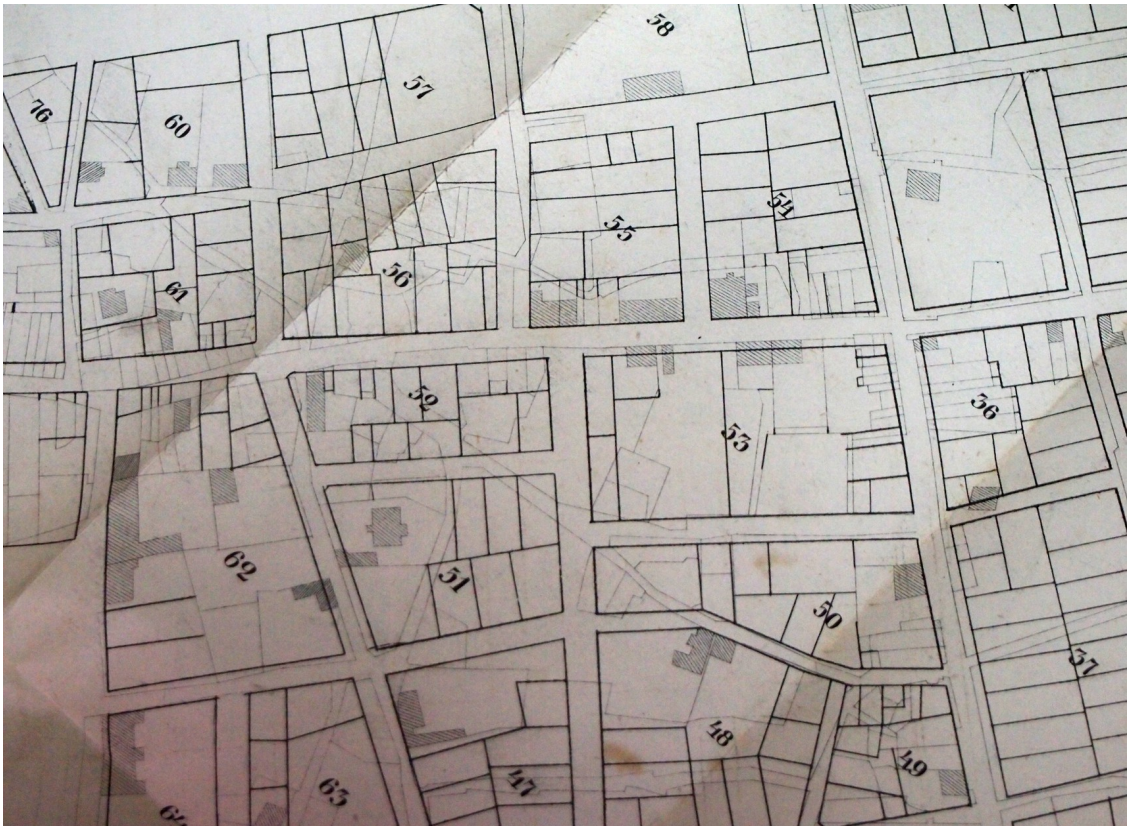

Illustration 10: Josimović plan (1862), detail.
The existing street grid is drawn in light gray.

246 Ibid., 45; See Illustrations 10 and 11

Illustration 11: Josimović plan (1862)

On 13 Feb 1869, the Minister of Army and Construction, colonel Jovan Belimarković justified the allocation of funds for Josimović's urban reconstruction project by referring to the prospective traffic of railroads and steamships. He appealed to members of the State Council:

> "Shall we not be, with good right, told that we have not yet matured for the European family, that we have not adopted the ideas and notions of the advanced, Christian world, if we still preserve in our capital this Asiatic character? Shall not our pride be insulted if our capital should maintain the shape given to her by barbarity? A shape typified by alien custom, alien faith and prejudice, a type of fear and darkness, a type of constrictedness and petty spirit?"[247]

The response of the State Council informed Colonel Belimarković that, auspiciously, the funds for this project could now be allocated from the sale of former Turkish properties.[248] The basis of modern urbanization in Belgrade was a process of developing mechanisms of dispossession, a fitting start for a modernity defined as the opposite of barbarity.

The visions of Josimović and Belimarković reflected the interests of Belgrade's ruling elites, merchant capitalists who sought to expand their business prospects through the transformation of the city. Bourgeois ambitions depended on seeing Belgrade through the perspective of the planner, a blank canvas upon which projects of social reordering could be implemented without friction. Neighborhood resistance and local speculation had transformed such visions after the burning of the Savamala, redirecting them inward, towards the city's retrenchments. As the aftermath of 1862 demonstrates, the fantasy of transformation was often at odds with reality. It had taken years for Belgrade elites to take over abandoned Muslim

247 AS. DS, 13 Feb 1869. br. 2

248 AS. DS, 13 Feb 1869, br. 2, l. 2 Jovan Belimarković's defense of the advanced Christian world did not stop him from being the principal character of Serbia's first public corruption affair. Belimarković had influenced the purchase of military equipment in order to benefit his cousin, Živko Karabiberović. Karabiberović was the head of the first private bank in Serbia (Prva srpska banka) which had gone bankrupt in 1873, as well as the head of the Serbian national assembly. Although the case of corruption had been relatively clear-cut, the Assembly had freed Belimarković of all charges. cf. Aleksandar Miletić "Afera Belimarković – nepotizam i korupcija u kneževini Srbiji" in Bulatović and Korać, 11-18

properties, many of them squatted by the city's poor. Decades passed between Belimarković's impassioned appeal and the full implementation of the Josimović plan. Yet, despite its limits, the logic of accumulation propelled the city into new dispossessions.

CHAPTER TWO: “THE MODEL OF ALL OTHER CITIES”

SOFIA (1860-1901)*

> Bay Ganyo should understand that if he wants to carry himself 'a la franga', he should open his moneybags, and if he doesn't do that he will remain wearing Turkish trousers[249]
>
> –Asen Kermekchiev, *Pro Sophia Artibusque*

In 1897, a small book came out in Sofia, detailing the worries and troubles of Toma Vasilyov, the chief secretary of the Bulgarian Ministry of Internal Affairs. A humble, unmarried man, Vasilyov supported his nephews and siblings who lived with him, and cultivated good relations with his home region of Teteven.[250] He participated in the associations of Teteven migrants to Sofia, and eleven years later would be elected to parliament based on the votes of his countrymen.[251] A good householder, he purchased property in Sofia at the right time to profit from the real-estate boom in the city.[252] Near the end of the nineteenth century, Vasilyov felt compelled to publish a pamphlet on what he described as an “epidemic illness”.”[253]

Summed up on the first pages of his booklet lay Vasilyov's problem:

> “The planning of cities, the regulation of new streets, the building of barracks, schools, hospitals and other buildings, the execution of waterworks, canals and roads – all this required enormous sums, which could not be collected from the impoverished population; and it was necessary to resort to loans, to make debts.”[254]

The good householder was concerned over municipal expenses that were unaccounted for, the use of loan funds for other means, and the taking of loans for superfluous work.[255] He

* In addressing his fellow city council members, N. Manov said that Sofia's development “it should serve as a model for all other cities in Bulgaria” *Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik*, 26.8.1889, p. 1

249 Kermekchiev, 9

250 Toma Vasilyov. *Moyat Zhivot.* n.d. [after 1936] Central State Archive (TsDA) f. 91k op. 1 a.e. 5. l. 19 Teteven is a town in north-central Bulgaria, in the foothills of the Balkan range.

251 Ibid, 15-16

252 Ibid, 20.

253 Toma Vasilyov, *Dûlgovete na Okrûzhiyata i obshtinite v Bûlgariya* (Sofia: Dûrzhavna pechatnitsa, 1897), p. 2

254 Ibid, 2

255 Ibid, 18

compiled a data table for Bulgarian municipal loans, showing the 348-fold difference between the indebtedness of Sofiaties vs. their rural counterparts.[256] Vasilyov also offered solutions, such as the expansion of oversight by the Ministry he worked in, debt absolution from the National Bank, and the taking over of large projects by the state.[257] He also proposed that the state should take out a large loan of its own, to pay off the smaller individual loans of Bulgarian cities.[258]

Toma Vasilyov had benefited from this era of reckless borrowing. In 1889, he took out a loan to purchase property for 2500 leva and build a house for another 10 000.[259] Ultimately, he sold them for three million during the interwar period, a ten-fold profit when accounting for inflation. As an upwardly-mobile clerk that came from humble beginnings, he articulated a paternal ethos akin to the *chorbadzhi*, Christian patron elites of Bulgaria and the Ottoman Balkans.[260] Uneasy with the transformation of his world of patronage and duty, Vasilyov had been compelled to write the book out of paternal care for his homeland. While he linked financial capital, municipal corruption, and urban reconstruction, his solutions were piecemeal. Vasilyov's reforms were meant to bring Bulgaria in line with ideas of "proper" custodianship over the common good. The world he inhabited, however, was far more complex.

Sofia of the late nineteenth century was not a site of reckless spending, where Bulgarians carelessly wasted their patrimony. The city was rather an immensely productive place, where old forms of space were smashed and new ones brought into being. It was the center of a constructive process that built a new national political regime, restructuring social organization

256 281.94lv per capita for Sofia vs 0.81lv for Bulgarian rural communities, on average. Ibid, 24, 53
257 Ibid, 30-31
258 Ibid, 28
259 Vasilyov, *Moyat zhivot,* p. 12
260 The *chorbadzhi* were Christian merchants, large landowners and moneylenders who served the role of intermediaries and local administrators in the Ottoman Balkans.

in way that increased the exploitation of the country's labor and natural resources. Sofia was also the home of speculative real-estate markets and new technologies of construction, supported by newly-significant institutions of expertise.[261] Finally, it was also the destination for West European industrial commodities and surplus capital. The Bulgarian "model of all other cities" was a place where new vectors of primary accumulation were bound. Contrary to Vasilyov's instincts, there was nothing reckless about the Sofia's borrowing practices – they were an elegant solution that brought together the interests of extractive local elites, an emerging class of speculative contractors, international financiers and industrialists. This growing, urban system of production was the motor behind the building of "Liberation Sofia".[262]

In the nineteenth century, the new Bulgarian capital underwent a massive transformation in its spatial forms, its housing stock and institutional organization of the city. Bulgarian urban historiography has often seen these changes as a natural progression in which the nation-state's creative forces were unleashed out of a stifling Ottoman regime. The trope of 'incomplete modernization' and its concomitant implication of backwardness pervades both interwar and post-socialist urban historiography. In this narrative, teleological ideas of progress serve as

261 There is a significant literature examining the role science and experts play in the making of urban space. A relatively influential trend has been to think of histories of the city and science as co-constitutive projects (Sven Dierig, et al., "Introduction: Toward an Urban History of Science." *Osiris*, 2nd Series, 18 (January 1, 2003): 1–19). My goal is to situate such developments within a historical and political economic context which made possible the primacy of expert and urbanist knowledge over other forms. For a theoretical analysis of such an approach that reflects on existing literature, see: Neil Brenner. "What is critical urban theory" *City,* 13, Nos. 2-3, (June-September 2009): 198-207

262 In Bulgarian historiography, the term "Liberation" (*Osvobozhdenieto*) plays a pivotal role in periodization. Historians of Sofia from both the pre-socialist and socialist periods have used it as a turning-point, and the term often appears in headlines of articles. For example: Petûr Dinekov, *Sofia prez XIX v. do Osvobozhdenieto na Bûlgariya*. (Sofia, 1939), Georgi Georgiev "Ethnosocialna harakteristika na naselenieto v Sofiya pri Osvobozhdenieto" *Bûlgarska Etnologiya*, 1, (1977): 41-56 The 1989-1991 three-volume collection by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, *Sofia prez vekovete*, vols 1 & 2 (Sofia: BAN, 1989, 1991) merges antiquity, medieval and Ottoman periods into the first volume, giving the entire second volume to post-Liberation Sofia. Within the term is a set of implicit suggestions - that Ottoman governance was somehow alien to the city itself and that the establishment of the Bulgarian nation state was liberating for its residents. The term also minimizes the various continuities between the governance of imperial and national elites.

justifications for the emergence of the nation-state formation, while their incompleteness explains the nation's peripheral position vis-a-vis Western Europe. As the Bulgarian geographer, Anastas Ishirkov' argued in 1928: ".. as large of a progress it had made in the last 50 years, [Sofia] represents a transition between high and low culture, between the West and the East, between city and village." [263] His approach was echoed more recently by Elitza Stanoeva: "The size of the town, the streetscape, the physical structure of the houses and the closed familial principle of their inhabitation made Sofia resemble a village rather than a city."[264] During the socialist period, this image of late-Ottoman Bulgarian urbanity as backwards was complicated by the examination of continuing class stratification, while maintaining emphasis on the role of Christian national elites.[265] The existence of a vibrant national bourgeoisie without a developed industrial base highlighted tensions with the dominant dialectical and historical materialist narrative.[266]

I argue that Balkan urbanization was a process that bound together the visions and interests of local politicians, experts, entrepreneurs, foreign factories and international banks. The bourgeois world they sought to build envisioned massive urban transformation and boundless profit, yet the motivations of various actors were often contradictory. Reformers' visions for a European national capital clashed with the individual motivations of corrupt

263 Ishirkov. "Naselenie na Sofiya," 72

264 Elitza Stanoeva. "Sofia" in Makaš, 92

265 Perhaps the best example of this approach follows the methodology of social history. See: Georgiev. *Sofiya i sofiantsi 1878-1944*

266 Nikolai Todorov, for example, utilizes the terms "appearance of capitalist relations" and "genesis of capitalism" to resolve the incompatibility of the Balkan historical record with the model of primitive accumulation developed in Western Europe by Marx. Todorov argues that the local genesis of capitalism proceeded "under the conditions of the existing world capitalist system" which had an effect on both socio-economic processes in the Balkans and the Ottoman feudal state. By uncovering variety in the emergence of capitalist relations, he implies the existence of multiple processes of primitive accumulation, taking place in various geographical locations and embedded in existing flows of capital. See: "The Primitive Accumulation of Capital" in Nikolai Todorov. *The Balkan City 1400-1900.* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1983). Cited pages 205-6. Original study published as *Balkanskiyat grad* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1972)

officials. Local industrialists' desire to maximize profit through kickbacks and subcontracting work was endangered by competition from West European firms. The city's finances increasingly became dependant on international banks, while the cost of projects increased through corruption and mismanagement. For many Sofiaties, urban transformation was a disorienting process of ever increasing proportions.

Bourgeois world-building in Sofia involved not only visions of reconfiguring the urban fabric, but also the social conditions of life that made it possible. The seeds of the city's transformation lie in Ottoman reforms, namely the opening of the empire to foreign commodity and capital markets, the building of transportation infrastructure, and the emergence of an institutional-bureaucratic apparatus. Reconfiguring the city had not been at the forefront of these changes, but their substantial impact on the Bulgarian socio-economic landscape allowed Christian elites to enter and shape urban politics. Following Russian military occupation and the proclamation of autonomous Bulgaria, institutions of expertise executed the first systemic dispossession in the city, by tearing down the housing of Muslim refugees. In the following decades, this coalition of municipal power and expertise developed plans for an immense reconstruction of the city. Funded by loans from international banks, Sofia elites transformed the urban space around them into a continuous jungle of business opportunities. Speculation, budding local industrialists and seasoned European ones all functioned to produce the city as an infrastructure of accumulation. Their actions defined the aesthetic and technological discourse of the nineteenth century city, a microcosm of state and market.

Urban Change And Ottoman Reforms

In 1839, the Edict of Gülhane inaugurated a period of reforms in the Ottoman Empire,

better known as the Tanzimât [Reorganization].[267] During the following seven decades, a series of laws meant reorganize the state and the economy were promulgated throughout the Empire. After 1864, the territorial re-organization of the Empire created the Danube vilayet, a province which included the Sofia region (*sancak*).[268] Headed by the reformist Midhat pasha, the vilayet's government established municipal governance and budgeting, and expanded the communicative network of roads and river transport. During the *Tanzimât*, and particularly during the 1850s and 60s, the imperial government introduced several new measures, including centralized records of plot ownership records (like in Belgrade) and city councils as institutions of municipal governance.[269] In Sofia, the city council met for the first time in 1866 following the establishment of such institutions in the more populous cities of Ruse and Varna.[270]

Tasked with the collection of funds for communal purposes, these councils were multi-confessional, incorporating Muslim notables, as well as Christian merchant elites.[271] For Sofiaites, they were an extension of existing practices that had begun to include merchant instead of church or guild leaders in community governance. In 1860, for example, the office of the Grand Vizier had disbanded the Sofia *meclis*, a precursor to formal city councils that had included guilds and local administrative officials. The new body chosen included Dimitûr

267 Among other innovations, the edict abolished tax farming (*iltizam*), instituted a bureaucratic apparatus, forced military conscription, and established the rule of law for all Ottoman subjects regardless of religion. The reforms were preceded by other events, most significantly the abolishment of the janissary corps in 1826 by Mahmud II. For a brief overview of the reform movement, see Donald Quataert, "The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 759-943

268 This had been an experimental case, whose institutions were extended to the whole empire with the Vilayet Law of 1867.

269 Ottoman Land Code of 1858, Although focused on the imperial capital a good history of the rise of urban regulations during the Tanzimat can be found in Zeynep Çelik, "Regularization of the Urban Fabric" *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 49-81

270 Milena Tafrova, *Tanzimatût, vialetskata reforma I bûlgarite: administratsiyata na Dunavskiya vilaet (1864-1876)*. (Sofia: IK Gutenberg, 2010), 128-9

271 Tafrova, 169

Traykovich, one of the wealthiest merchants in the town.[272] Bulgarian merchant elites differed from their Serbian counterparts, as they managed the extraction of surplus from early industrial developments and land ownership along with profits from trade. The center of these had been far from Sofia, focused on the production of textiles and braid-making in the central Balkans and the export of grain in the northeast.[273] Traykovich had been predominantly a merchant, and had made his money through the import of Viennese manufactured commodities to sell on the Bulgarian market.[274] Between 1855-1863, these Orthodox elites, together with most of the city's guilds, contributed to the rebuilding the Sv. Kral cathedral church.[275] The festive opening of the church was a ceremonial event, a large celebration attended by 20,000 people, many of hailing from other regions.[276] Even prior to the celebrations of its unveiling, the new church had been the site of where wealthy Sofiaites of various confessions could meet.[277] During the Tanzimat, Christian elites served as church benefactors, informal community leaders, and held administrative positions, allowing them a significant degree of agency in how the city was shaped.

272 NBKM-BIA, 1860, f. 22 (Nayden Gerov), a.e. 461, l. 134, also No. 75 published in Dinekov, 31

273 On putting-out industries and factories for textile production see "The Capitalist Entrepreneur" and "The First Factories" in Todorov, *The Balkan City*, 238-276, 277-308, and "Promeni v zanayatite i razvitieto na kapitalisticheskata manifaktura i fabrichna industriya" *Stopanska istoriya na Bûlgariya 681-1981*. Nikolay Todorov et al. (Sofia; Nauka I izkustvo, 1981). On changes in landownership and shifts to grain export in the northeast, see "Ikonomicheskoto razvitie na bûlgarskite zemi prez perioda na turskiya feodalizûm 1396-1878" Lyuben Berov. *Ikonomicheskoto razvitie na Bûlgariya prez vekovete* (Sofia: Profizdat, 1974), particularly pages 67-82 and the table on p. 70 comparing land use differentiation in different Bulgarian regions.

274 See his letter to Dimitûr Hadzhikotsev on sending 12 carts of goods from Vienna to Plovdiv via Sofia. TsDA, f. 628k , op. 1, a.e. 112, l. 2 also published in Dinekov, p. 44

275 *Dunav*, 27 Nov 1868, No. 332, p. 663 On guild participation in the reconstruction of the church, see: National Library of Cyril and Methodius (NBKM), f. 25 (Kondiki i tefteri) IIA7810, l. 8-23, 28 published in P. Dinekov, *Sofia prez XIX vek*.. 18, 35, 52; See Illustration 1

276 *Makedoniya*, 27 May 1867, No. 26, p. 4 The consecration of the cathedral church came in the context of a decades-long struggle of Bulgarian clergy and activists to establish a national, Slavic-speaking church structure separate from the Greek-dominated Patriarchate of Constantinople.

277 See for example the 24 Oct 1860 wedding of Sava Filaretov with Yordanka, which was attended by a multi-confessional crowd. Filaretov (1825-1863) was the son of a well-to-do textile-maker (*abadzhiya*) from Zheravna who became a teacher and cultural revival activist. For much of his education, he relied on the sponsorship of Ivan Denkoglu, one of the wealthiest Bulgarian merchants of the period. Denkoglu had focused mostly on the trade in Ottoman commodities in the Russian market. He had contributed his wealth not only to the construction of the cathedral, but also other churches and schools in Sofia and other parts of Buglaria. On the wedding, see Dinekov, 32

Illustration 12: The Sv. Kral Cathedral Church (1863) demonstrated the financial and political influence of Sofia's merchant elites. It was the social center for the city's wealthy Christians and participants in the Bulgarian Revival movement. Date Unknown, but prior to 1898 reconstruction by Nikola Lazarov.

Illustration 13: The Governor's Palace (right) was one of two major Tanzimat buildings built in Sofia after the 1858 earthquake. The street between the building and the Çelebi mosque (left) was likely reconstructed during Midhat pasha's regime in the 1860s, adding tree-lined sidewalks and a street light. The building was converted into the Royal Palace between 1880 and 1882, when the mosque was demolished to make room for the garden. Image most likely dates from 1879.

In the same period, the Ottoman government began a program of heavier intervention in the urban landscape. In 1864, it named Fehmi pasha as the new governor (*kaymakam*), building him a new governor's palace.[278] The government also restored water fountains and reconstructed the military barracks, while Midhat Pasha ordered the widening of five main thoroughfares out of the city.[279] In 1864, work began on constructing roads that connected Sofia with Melnik, Pazardzhik, and Dupnitsa, while secular merchant courts were opened in the city as well.[280] In the following year, foreign engineers under the employ of Midhat pasha had worked on the roads to Niš and Ruse.[281] In 1867, the cobble-stones in parts of the central city were replaced and "the city got a very good and ordered look".[282] The inner trading quarter ("*Vûtreshna charshiya*") had been painted and gas lamps to light the city were ordered from Vienna. The newly-instituted city council had been active in these efforts. It was making plans to reconstruct other central trading quarters ("*Shevarskata charshiya"*), and to relocate the wood and coal market.[283] As we will see later, Ottoman imperial reforms were a significant development in the history of Sofiaite urban governance. However, most of the changes that took place focused on communication, legal regulations and public institutions. Intervention in the city-scape was piecemeal. Ultimately, much of the residential housing in the city remained the same, as did the basic street structure.

In terms of population and economic activity, Tanzimât Sofia was decidedly average among Bulgarian cities, away from major flows of trade and centers of production. This reflected on the cost of housing and other real-estate in the city, which remained affordable relative to its

278 *Turtsiya*, 10 Oct 1864, No. 12, p. 64; See Illustration 13
279 Kiril Stanilov and Veselin Donchev. "The Restructuring of Bulgarian Towns at the End of the Nineteenth Century." *Urban Morphology* 8, no. 2 (2004), 93
280 *Sûvetnik*, 13 Apr 1864, No. 4, p. 4 and *Sûvetnik*, 30 May 1864, No. 9, p. 4
281 The road to Ruse had been made much more efficient, effectively shortening the travel time from 80 to 50 hours. *Dunav*, 20 Oct 1865, No. 34, p. 85
282 *Dunav*, 3 Jun 1867, No. 27, p. 4
283 *Dunav*, 26 Mar 1869, No. 363, p. 725 and 20 Jul 1869, No. 395, p. 791

bustling counterparts in the east. In the Danube Vilayet census of 1866, Sofia had a combined real estate value lower than fourteen other cities, and a combined rent value lower than eight others.[284] Certainly, extrapolating a picture of economic conditions in the city from census data has some issues. Unknown methodologies of gathering the information, the troubling power dynamic of the surveyor's gaze, or the likely need to minimize one's wealth in front of potential tax collectors are just some of the problems associated with census sources. For the purposes of comparison, however, they offer a valuable glimpse into the position of Sofia *vis-á-vis* other cities in the same survey. In terms of *per capita* real-estate value, the city had been exceptionally cheap, ranking 32nd among 35 cities surveyed, fifteenth when it came to per capita rental costs. The average piece of real-estate in 1866 cost 1550 *kuruş* per head (equivalent to 317.89lv after 1880).[285] During the 1850s and 60s, the future Bulgarian capital was an average provincial city that largely escaped the huge rise in real-estate and rental costs that marked major trading centers and ports.[286]

In the Danube Vilayet, Sofia remained peripheral to the provincial capital, Ruse, and other major trading towns like Varna, Plovdiv, Svishtov and Shumen. Ruse was Bulgaria's largest and fastest changing city at the time, at the center of the flows of goods and capital down the

284 10 498 775 and 249 570 *kurus*, respectively. In terms of combined real-estate value, Sofia was behind similarly-valued Lovech and Targovishte. The top of the list had been reserved for the port cities of Ruse and Varna, followed by the centers of putting-out and textile industries in Pleven, Shumen and Svishtov. Similar cities top the list of overall rent income. NBKM, Orientalni otdel (Oo), *Cetvel-i mizan-i vergi ve nüfüs*, Rs. 98/8 tabulated in Nikolai Todorov. *The Balkan City,*, p. 430

285 After 1844 and the adoption of the Ottoman lira, 1550 *kuruş* had the value of 102.53g of gold. As Bulgaria had been a member of the Latin Monetary Union after 1880, a 20 leva coin had a fixed value of 6.45161g of gold. Henry Parker Willis, *A History of the Latin Monetary Union* (Chicago: U. Chicago Press, 1901). The best history of Ottoman currency is Sevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

286 In Varna, for example, 56% of real-estate value had been commercial property, with similar results in Pazardzhik, Lom, and Constanta. NBKM, Orientalni otdel (Oo), *Cetvel-i mizan-i vergi ve nüfüs*, Rs. 98/8, cited in "Distribution of Real Estate in Eleven Cities of the Danubian Vilayet, Census of 1866" Todorov, *The Balkan city*, p.433

Danube and a railway line to the Black Sea. During the middle of the nineteenth century, foreign investment into the territory of today's Bulgaria had focused on transportation infrastructure in joint ventures with the Ottoman government.[287] The ultimate interest of British, French and Belgian investors had been a rail-link which would link markets in Istanbul, the Balkans, and the wider Middle East to European producers. Although a complete railway - the "Orient Express" - would only open in 1883, foreign investment into Ottoman Balkan provinces worked towards that goal from the 1860s onwards. For Sofiaites, this meant mostly rumors that a railway would reach the city by 1864.[288] In 1873, when the construction of Maurice de Hirsch's "Oriental Railways" was already under way, the first engineers had arrived to Sofia to survey the city for a future line towards Belovo and Plovdiv.[289] Some of them, such as the Czech Jíří Prošek, would take part in the development and articulation of urban planning in Sofia after 1878. While experts such as Prošek would later articulate international discourses of aesthetics, safety, and progress, their existence in the region was dependent on inflows of foreign capital that supported large infrastructural projects of the Ottoman Empire.

Particularly in the post-socialist period, Bulgarian historiography has often ignored this modernizing drive, or argued that it was a case of "too little-too late".[290] Revisionist approaches

287 For a socio-economic history of railways in the late Ottoman Balkans, see Vasilis K. Gounaris. *Steam over Macedonia, 1870-1912.* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1993)

288 The city would be connected by rail to the West only in 1888. Bulgarian Historical Archive – National Library of Cyril and Methodius (BIA-NBKM), f. 22 (Nayden Gerov) a.e. 509 l. 10

289 The line Istanbul - Plovdiv (Filipe, Phillippopolis) - Belovo had been completed in that year, and plans were made to extend the line through Sofia and Niš to the Mitrovica-Thessaloniki corridor. The joint line would then extend through Bosnia to link with the Southern Austrian Railway ending in Dobrljin. For the existence of French, Italian and German-speaking engineers in Sofia in 1873, see Kûrstyo Neshov to Spas Vatsov. 21 Apr 1873. Bulgarian Academy of Sciences – Scientific Archive (BAN-NA), Fund 69k (Spas Vatsov), a.e. 5 l. 5-7 also reproduced in Dinekov, 48

290 The notion of "incomplete" reforms mirrors the discourse of incomplete modernization in the post-Ottoman sphere. "Failed Europeanization" thus figures as a foundational axis providing the explanation for the emergence of national movements or incomplete capitalist development. Compare for example the emblematic text of Bulgarian socialist historiography on national revival, Dimitûr Kosev's *Lekcii po nova bûlgarska istoriya*. (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1951) and Milena Tafrova's recent point that Ottoman legal and institutional

towards the Tanzimât, on the other hand, struggle against such Orientalist assumptions by resurrecting the role of imperial reformers.[291] However, embedded within these discourses is an uncritical approach towards modernization efforts. There is an implicit assumption of a neutral modernity, outside the context of social relations in which it emerges. This model of the world ultimately imbues agency onto reformers and experts, national or imperial figures who then position themselves more or less successfully within the flows of the *Zeitgeist*. My chapter problematizes that very terrain of historical struggle, contextualizing it within a larger framework of shifting modes of production and the general restructuring of social relations. Nineteenth-century Sofia was emblematic of new ways to produce space in the Balkan region, an extension of capital into urban space and reconfigurations of entire spheres of life.[292]

The Institutionalization Of Urban Planning

After the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8, Sofia was occupied by Russian armies that

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reform did not find good "soil", having been a superficial import from Europe instead of emerging gradually from local conditions. Tafrova, 72

291 See for example Teodora Bakûrdzhieva, *Na krachka pred vremeto. Dûrzhavnikût reformator Midhat pasha (1822-1884)* (Ruse: Avangard print, 2009) In Ottoman urban history in particular, similar trends have emerged, attempting to resurrect an alternative, cosmopolitan Ottoman modernity. Nora Lafi. "Mediterranean Connections: The Circulation of Municipal Knowledge and Practices at the Time of the Ottoman Reforms, c. 1830-1910" in *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment, 1850-2000,* eds., Pierre-Yves Saunier and Shane Ewen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) pp.135-150. Ulrike Freitag & Nora Lafi. *Urban Governance under the Ottomans – Between Cosmopolitanism and Conflict*. (London: Routledge, 2014), Eldem, Edhem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters. *The Ottoman City between East and West :Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

292 The Balkans were not special in this regard. The expansion of capital *as an urbanity* was roughly contemporaneous in its reconfiguration of imperial and colonial cities worldwide. The basic theoretical tenets of this process were outlined by David Harvey in *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985). Harvey expands on the point made by Henri Lefebvre in *Urban Revolution* (1970) of how the making of an international "fabric" of urbanized spaces has historically been integral to the capitalist mode of production. For a non-Balkan Ottoman example, see: "Capitalist Urbanization and Subaltern Resistance" in Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut.* See also: Mariam Dossal, *Theatre of Conflict, City of Hope: Mumbai 1660 to the Present* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), particularly Chapters 4-6; Michael Jons, "The Urbanization of Peripheral Capitalism: Buenos Aires, 1880-1920" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 16, Issue 3, (Sep 1992): 352-374; Peter J. Carroll, *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895-1937*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); J. R. Rayfield, "Theories of urbanization and the colonial city in West Africa" *Africa, The Journal of International African Institute,* 44, No. 2 (1974): 163-85

supported the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian principality. Like many other parts of the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth-century, the territory that would become Bulgaria was dotted with peasant revolts and nationalist uprisings that channeled popular discontent with increased state taxation.[293] Simultaneously, the project of a Bulgarian nation-state emerged out of a decades-long cultural, religious and educational movement through nationalist revolutionaries, religious activists and some merchant elites.[294] Sofia, however, had remained on the sidelines of that struggle, as the activity of revolutionary nationalist groups after the Crimean War remained in the central Balkan range. Although the city held a massive contingent of troops during the 1877-8 war, careful routing maneuvers of the advancing Russians resulted in Ottoman surrender of the city in January of 1878.[295]

Large changes in Sofia's cityscape did not take place immediately after its occupation or its subsequent proclamation as the capital of the newly-created, autonomous Bulgarian Principality. The Russian administration's primary concern was to build up the scale of Ottoman regulatory reforms in order to bolster its security apparatus and build up the local administration. The military's focus was the establishment of order. Like its Ottoman predecessor, it purchased Viennese lamps to illuminate dark streets, but expanded its intervention by setting city limits and ordering a comprehensive mapping of the city.[296] For its governing officials, the Russian imperial

293 Significant revolts took place in Berkovitsa and Pirot (1836), Nish (1841) and Vidin (1850). These revolts took place in the aftermath of prolonged episodes of unrest, such as the Kirdzhali period (1790-1810) and the Russo-Turkish War (1829-1830). Their immediate causes are debated by historians, however, as many stress the dissatisfaction with increased taxation and the lackluster abolishment of tax farming during the Tanzimat. This classical view can be found in Mark Pinson. “Ottoman Bulgaria in the First Tanzimat Period: The Revoluts in Nish (1841) and Vidin (1850” *Middle Eastern Studies*, 11, No. 2 (May 1975): 103-146

294 An analytical overview of the literature on the Bulgarian Revival can be found in Daskalov, *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans*

295 Tsenko Genov. “Military operations in the Balkan Theatre during the 1877-8 War” *Southeastern Europe*. Vol. 6 No. 2 (1979): 148-151

296 State Archives – Sofia (DAS). 1878, f 1k op 3 a.e. 983, l. 40, DAS. 1878, f 1k op. 3 a.e. 567, l. 1, DAS. 1878, f 1k op 3, a.e. 568, l. 1 published in Maya Nedeva and Nikolay Markov, *Arhivite govoryat. Sofiyskoto obshtinsko*

commissariat had simply adopted the Ottoman titles, translating them into Bulgarian.[297] The institution of the city council remained, called to better facilitate the housing of Russian troops in the city.[298]

Illustration 14: A view towards the center of Sofia immediately after the Russian conquest. To the front right is the Shareniyat bridge over the Vladaya river, heavily reconstructed in 1889-90 by the Prošek firm and renamed Lions' bridge. Sidewalks of Tanzimat reconstructions under Midhat pasha are visible.

upravlenie 1878-1879. (Sofia: Glavno upravlenie na arhivite, 2000), 157, 162, 216

297 DAS. 4 Sep 1878. F 1k, op 2 ae 113, l. 2 in *Arhivite*, 20-21

298 The Russian military commander of Sofia, Captain Paul', saw the housing of military personell "as one of the duties of the city council, and more importantly, as you are those who know the people and the houses" DAS. 6 Apr 1878 F 1k op 2 ae 529 l. 6.

The work of reconfiguring urban space and governance to better suit a security apparatus was thus superimposed onto an already-reconstituted regulatory and institutional regime of the Tanzimât. This also meant that Sofia was, at the turn of the 1870s, a site ripe for experimentation in new methods of urban management. In the city's urban core, experts played a role in a process of systematic dispossession that helped create a burgeoning real-estate market.[299] After 1878, houses deemed unworthy, mostly owned by the Muslim population which had escaped the city, were being torn down and their plots repossessed.[300] The Ottoman center, with Muslim properties abandoned during the war, was seen as the principal field for actuating an urban vision. In 1879, Nikola Georgiev Daskalov, one of the members of the city council and a future mayor of Sofia, clarified to his fellow council-members a royal proclamation decrying the necessity of urban planning:

> "I explain everything to the City Council regarding the fulfillment and government, and read it necessary for the proper understanding of the above-mentioned order of His Majesty, that old buildings shall be demolished not suddenly now, but according to their arrival into perfect disrepair. In the replacement of them with the new ones, it is necessary to strictly stick to the aforementioned plan. However, since in the center of the city for the large part, lies Turkish land, covered in ruins, the above-mentioned plan can be immediately put into fruition by delineating streets and squares according to the new plan."[301]

For these purposes, the military administration employed the Habsburg Czech Adolf (Antonín) Kolář, who was named city architect. In the year of Daskalov's letter, the municipal council ordered that all houses in the city center should be built from durable materials.[302] Kolář's job had mostly been to sign off on the tearing down of Muslim houses using the justification of

299 For similar processes in Belgrade, see Chapter One
300 DAS. F 1k op 3, a.e. 427, l. 1, op 3 a.e. 3 l 1-3, op 2, a.e. 425a, l. 2, op 3 a.e. 429 l 1, 59
301 DAS, f 1k, op. 3 a.e. 646, l. 1 Emphasis mine
302 The order was coached in the language of security, which would later be instrumental in the destruction of Muslim residences in Sofia's center. DAS. Op 3 a.e. 431, l. 1

safety that informed the city council order. His reports repeatedly feature an identical line that justified the teardown: “as the property-owners are not here, these houses should be torn down as soon as possible, so that some misfortune should not happen.”[303] In some cases, Kolář was not even present for the assessment, and the decision on the architectural worthiness of the homes was left to the city council and the chief of police Volkov.[304] In each of these reports, between six and fourteen homes were destroyed. The only lines of text in them listed the owners, addresses and the formulaic plea for public safety.

The following year, a commission was named to deal with the alienation of Muslim properties. It's goals were to “measure and value the plots.. and to determine which plots in particular are necessary for the city for various necessary municipal buildings.”[305] Its member make-up was multiconfessional and featured several state institutions. A commission of the City Council and “society” shared authority with the city architect, an emissary of the (Russian Imperial) Sofia Governor and the Chief of Police. The inclusion of a multiconfessional council with Christian, Jewish and Muslim members exemplifies how many of these early interventions relied on urban institutions and the language of public welfare inherited from the Tanzimât, even while dispossessing its nominal beneficiaries. The properties “left from the runaway Turks” were valuated by the commission, according to plans of the city architect.[306] In order to simplify restructuring, the plots were divided to fit the regulatory plan prior to their sale by public bidding. The city council was deemed as the dominant institution to manage these left-over spaces – it was to issue property deeds, it controlled the manner of construction according to

303 DAS. f. 1k, op. 2 a.e.. 425a. l. 1-3
304 DAS f 1k op 1 ae 21 l. 24-27
305 DAS f 1k op 1 a.e. 22, l. 12
306 DAS. f 1k op 1 ae 22 l. 24-25

urban plans, and was allowed to keep plots for its own purposes.

Dispossession created rifts that allowed some Sofiaties to challenge existing property regulations. In July 1878, for example, Petro the Italian ignored the attempts of the City Council to leave the shop of Atanas Georgiev, “which he wants to usurp without any document of ownership.”, forcing the Council to evict him by force.[307] Others dismantled the houses of the departed Muslims, taking what construction material they could. Krûsto Voynov, a resident of Draz mahala, was caught taking down bricks and putting them on a cart to take home.[308] When caught by the watchman, he agreed to come into the station, but once they had gone to a quiet alley, he beat the guard and ran. As in Belgrade, the city's poor took what they could of the abandoned Muslim homes – everything but the property deed. In March 1878, the city council wrote to the head police officer that “some of the local residents and peasants, joined by some Russian soldiers, went to break sound Turkish houses and barns, to get themselves firewood.”[309] Such forms of collectively-organized redistribution that emerged in the fissures of political turmoil were seen as dangerous by the administration. Abandoned houses were watched to prevent looting “until order is restored”. In the meantime, the city council profited from the sale of furniture and dishware from abandoned Muslim homes.[310] With the ending of hostilities and a stable police presence in the city, the opportunities for squatters and looters became increasingly sparse.

Some Muslim refugees refused to accept the loss of their homes and properties, and petitioned the city council asking to be allowed to move back or receive some type of restitution.

307 DAS. f 1K op. 2 a.e. 110 l. 1.
308 DAS. f 1K op. 2 a.e. 110 l. 3.
309 DAS f. 1к op. 2 a.e. 415.
310 DAS f. 1K op. 2 a.e. 418

Pleas to the city administration often stress the connection of Muslim residents to Sofia. In July 1878, Alide Emina called herself “a humble Turkishwoman Sofiaite of Karagözbeg neighborhood” when pleading for remuneration for her two urban gardens.[311] She wanted 400 *kuruş* in order to bring her two young children back from exile in Salonica.[312] Hatice Alieva, a caretaker of her cousin Kara Ibrahim's children, and “a humble resident of Sofia of Eski Saray neighborhood” had also asked for income from some periurban fields to support them.[313] Mehmed Demir, his wife Ayşe, and their four children had asked to move back to the Sofia area, as did Mustafa Demir and his wife Eşref.[314] The city administration, however, was already receiving income from the properties of refugees.[315] Some Muslim cemeteries were turned into squares and gardens as well.[316] Taken together, these actions of the city council suggest that there was no plan to let the refugees come back, or to restore the urban fabric to its preexisting condition. After July 1878, the Treaty of Berlin confirmed such interpretations, by guaranteeing that Muslim proprietorship could only be absentee, and its remuneration subject to a joint Turko-Bulgarian commission.[317] In 1879, when a certain Pogadzhiyata went to his home in the neighborhood of Tellak Hasan's Mill, he discovered that his house was now used as a school by the city council.[318] The decisions of the Great Powers in Berlin ultimately disavowed the possibility of return, leaving the management of Muslim properties to the Sofia city council.

311 DAS f. 1к op. 2 a.e. 420 l. 1

312 Emina had inherited the garden and field from her father, together with her two other sisters. She asked for their share as well, as they had fled the city. Both plots were already leased by the city to Grozdan Stoilov, for 400 *kuruş*. Emina was to deemed worthy to receive 133 1/3, while her missing sisters' share was claimed by the municipality.

313 Kara Ibrahim had been taken to Russia as a prisoner of war. DAS f. 1к op. 2 a.e. 420 l. 3.

314 DAS. 26 Apr, 1878. f 1к op. 2 a.e. 417 l. 5.

315 Less than a month after the Russian troops entered the city, the city council had already begun to receive income from rent of some properties, like the Çukur mill. DAS f. 1к op. 2 a.e. 414

316 DAS 21 Jul 1878, f 1k op 1 a.e. 21, l. 17 published in Nedeva & Mirkov, *Arhivite…*, 431-433

317 *The Tablet*, 20 Jul 1878, URL: http://archive.thetablet.co.uk/article/20th-july-1878/11/the-treaty-of-berlin Accessed 15 Oct 1878

318 DAS f. 1к op 2 a.e. 432a

It is important to consider that the mechanism of inter-confessional dispossession that took place in 1878-9 was concurrent with the development of an urban apparatus that managed space. The tear-down of Muslim Sofiaite houses had taken place through the actions of the city council, which employed discourses of security and the knowledge of experts for that purpose. The council owed its existence to the Ottoman program of reforms, whose purpose was the strengthening of the imperial state, but whose primary effect was the integration of the Empire into global flows of commodity exchange and capital.[319] The Tanzimât reforms helped create an institutional mechanism for urban dispossession. The choice of new elites to remake the cityscape, rather than rebuild the city, was not only an example of demographic management. It was also a site where techniques of spatial management and expertise were developed, namely street regulation, centralized planning, and plot valuation. Although war-time violence had upset the political structure behind the city council, it left intact mechanisms of budgeting, policing and taxation that enabled this extension of municipal authority.

Much of this cityscape was about to rapidly change. Concurrently with his work in justifying municipal dispossession, Adolf Kolář had gone on to author the first plan for street renovation, which (like in Belgrade) privileged wide, straight and right-angled streets.[320] The Czech was part of a larger number of Habsburg-educated experts which had worked in the region on private investment endeavors and later found work either in the Russian war effort or the subsequent reconstruction. Kolář was a former employee of the Bucharest city council, who had worked on the construction of the city's sewers.[321] Others worked on a variety of projects –

319 Şevket Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820-1913: Trade, Investment and Production*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)
320 See for example the order for the straightening of Egerska and Vitoshka streets. DAS. F 1k op 3 a.e. 692 l. 1 published in Nedeva, 509
321 Yokimov, 37

Friedrich Grünanger built the Prince's Palace in Ruse (1879), while Jíří Prošek had worked on Maurice de Hirsch's railway projects.[322] In Sofia, Prošek expanded squares and central streets around public buildings.[323] Between 1878 and 1885, these experts spearheaded an immense program of urban restructuring in Bulgaria, culminating in plans for 36 cities and towns.[324] In 1879-1880, Kolář would collaborate with Venceslav Roubal and Nikolay Kopotkin on the so-called “Battenberg plan”, the first comprehensive planning document for the city.[325] Named after the Bulgarian Prince Alexander Battenberg, it featured a combined radial/orthogonal grid, with a growth plan that converted the surrounding city entrenchments into a boulevard.[326] These early municipal experts introduced an aesthetic language, a logic of city management and methods of construction which would pave the way for other Habsburg-educated architects during the fin-de-siecle. Likewise, their work became a schematic through which street regulation, corruption and international finance could shape Sofia's cityscape.

Real-estate Speculation And Municipal Corruption

During the 1880s and 1890s, the Battenberg plan was the basis for municipal interventions into the urban fabric. By 1890, the Sofia city council used the plan as justification to tear down some four hundred and fifty buildings per year, and build seven hundred new

322 Stoilova, ed., 22, 42

323 DAS, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 22, 23 op. 3. a.e. 645 also cited in Dobrina Zheleva-Martins. “Gradoustroystveno Planirane i istoricheski kontekst” *Istorichesko bûdeshte.* No. 1-2 (2005), 98

324 Stanilov and Donchev, p. 95

325 Kopotkin was a Russian military engineer who had developed plans for Sofia “in an American fashion” (i.e. using a grid system) during the Russian occupation. Konstantin Jireček notes in his memoirs that it was his plan that was adopted by the city council in January of 1880, however Zheleva-Martins shows that the base for the Battenberg plan had been Kolář's plan of the city made for the Russian military in October of 1878, and elaborated during the governorship of prince Dondukov-Korsakov. See: Zheleva-Martins, 99 While Kopotkin's leadership in the elaboration of the plan is probable, it is clear that between 1878 and 1881 (when the Battenberg plan was solidified), it had been worked on by a number of different architects and engineers employed by the city.

326 See plan in K Andreev ed., *Atlas na Sofiya i sofiyska aglomeratsiya* (Sofia: Kartografiya EOOD, 1993), 147

ones.[327] Although the process of reconstruction continued into the twentieth century, it was particularly stark during the administration of Dimitûr Petkov, Sofia's mayor between 1888 and 1893.[328] For example, between 1889 and 1891 alone, 1,698 buildings were destroyed by the regulatory program, while 1,563 new ones were built roughly in the same period. [329] Leading an unopposed city council, Petkov brokered agreements with local contractors to demolish buildings, cut through streets and build new ones. The basic practice was that the city would purchase plots from residents in the city center, destroy their Ottoman-era houses, and sell them plots in other neighborhoods.

The cumulative effect of these purchases was the creation of a real-estate market with a high volume of transactions that was ripe for speculation. As Georgi Kanazirski-Verin remembers it: "Many outsiders came to Sofia, speculators, and began to buy real-estate dearly; the Sofiaties fooled themselves into selling"[330] The impetus for market growth came from the city's project of street regulation. The basic *modus operandi* of this process involved the town planners defining the course of new streets. Following that, the city would purchase plots that violated the street line, and then sell new plots elsewhere to the original owners. Many of these transactions were published in the official city gazette, listing often the location and the purchase price. I have collected and analyzed 548 of them, published between January 1889 and April 1894 and making up somewhere between 16-20% of all plots traded in the regulation. The majority of the transactions published show plots purchased by the city, although there is a

327 Zheko Popov. *Burniyat zhivot na Dimitûr Petkov*. (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Ministerstvoto na Otbranata "Sv. Georgii Pobedonosets", 1998), p. 63

328 He had been deputy mayor since 1887, after just one month on the city council. According to Zheko Popov, Petkov owed his position to the political coalition he had made with Stefan Stambolov in 1887, becoming his right-hand man. Popov, pp. 59, 63

329 Popov, 68 The figures for new buildings are for the years 1888-1890.

330 Georgi Kanazirski-Verin, 26

sizable percentage of sold plots and buildings as well. I believe that they represent a sufficiently differentiated sample of all transactions, and can give us an overview into the financial workings of Sofia street regulation between 1889 and 1894.

The records of plot and building transactions seemingly show a very lucrative situation for residents, who could easily profit from expropriation. In the five years I've analyzed, the average cost per square meter was 8.08lv for plots purchased by the city, and 4.55 for those sold. The regulation, thus, represented a transfer of money from the city budget to private hands. However, the city's purchases included both plots and buildings, while its sales were plots alone. Although buildings fetched a higher price,[331] the homeowners would still have to rebuild, paying local contractors, purchasing material and paying workers in the process. This meant that to persons displaced from their homes, much of potential profit would go to contracting and construction firms. Likewise, as the right to compensation was limited to owners, expropriation would have also forced rent-paying tenants to look for new place to live.

What were the effects of this large set of transactions on the price distribution of real-estate in Sofia? The city offered land it had already owned, selling it at prices which were clustered around the median, without expensive or very cheap outliers. Roughly half of the plots sold by the city came from the empty land outside the former city walls, which would form the quarters beyond Lion's Bridge, Buka and Yuchbunar.[332] On the other hand, when the city bought plots, it did so under prices which were much more differentiated. Although they still clustered around the median, there was a sizable proportion of very cheap or very expensive plots.[333] The

331 Average expropriation cost for houses was 17.49 lv/m2, and for shops 15.38 lv/m2.
332 54 of 111 plots sold came either from behind Lion's bridge ("*zad Shareniya most"*), Buka or Yuchbunar. The exact location of all plots in the data set us not determined.
333 See Illustration 15

practice of purchasing and selling affirmed new forms of price differentiation in terms of real-estate value. The effect of the city's regulatory program promoted a bifurcated real-estate market in which purchasing power was distributed highly unevenly.

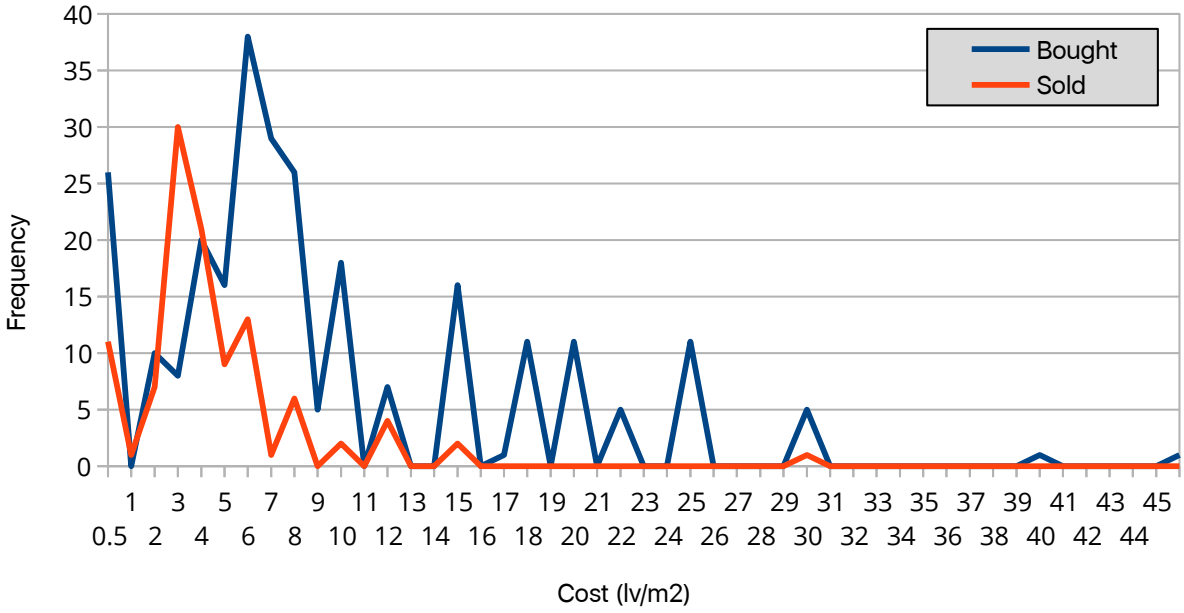

Illustration 15: Graph of the plot transactions by the Sofia city council between 1889 and 1894. The city paid more on average than it received for plots during street regulation, but its credits were distributed much less evenly.

Political elites associated with the city council and its technical divisions were ideally placed to profit from real-estate speculation. In 1895, after the ousting of his party from power, mayor Petkov was subjected to a corruption inquiry in order to explain his high income and real-estate property in the center.[334] During his mayorship, the mayor was known for purchasing property for three buildings across from the Parliament, in partnership with Stefan Stambolov, the prime-minister at the time. In an 1891 letter to Stambolov, Petkov discusses their joint

334 The full summary of the case can be found in: DAS f. 1K op. 2 a.e. 24. Petkov's response to the charges is in DAS. f 1K op. 2 a.e. 23 l. 13.

purchases elsewhere:

> "Buildings are being built very much... You will be surprised, if I tell you that on that spot, where our thing is, in the passageway and in Tûrgovska street, there should be at least 30 buildings built."[335]

Ivan Salabashev remembers precisely this location in his ruminations of the Stambolov-Petkov speculative alliance.[336] He notes that when the passageway (*pasazh*ût) area was being built, the two men had bought the plots around it. They relied on their inside knowledge of the city's regulatory plans and thus knew the price would appreciate.[337] Salabashev notes that he was invited several times to profit from those purchases, both there and in the poorer quarter of Yuchbunar. His memoirs also outline how he was propositioned to profit from speculation on the city's infrastructural projects. Approached by a friend to acquire "the most beautiful place in all of Sofia", Salabashev was advised to purchase cheap plots in the same quarter as the street.[338] His advisor quickly explained:

> "During the regulation of the Boulevard, many Turkish houses were torn down and their plots went under the street. I know the owners of the few plots which stayed on the streets, and are in about the same spot as the plot in question. They will sell you their plots for a few leva. As soon as you become owner of their plots, which have already been expropriated, the city council is bound, in exchange for those to give you the nearest spot in exchange. The City council has long accepted such forms of exchange, and practices it regularly"

Upon inquiring why the original proprietors would not profit from this on their own,

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335 Emphasis mine. Dimitûr Petkov to Stefan Stambolov. 9 Aug 1891. cited in Popov, 68

336 Salabashev (1852-1924) had been the minister of finance and justice in Stambolov's government, but left the Popular-liberal (*Narodnoliberalnata*) party in 1903 to join the Democrats. He became finance minister again in the 1908 and was instrumental in the negotiations of Bulgarian external credit with Paribas and Credit mobilier. Salabashev's ultimate deal with Wiener Bankverein in 1909 would lead to him falling out of favor and his ultimate dismissal from service in 1910. See: Tsvetana Todorova, *Istoriya na vûnshen dûrzhaven dûlg na Bûlgariya 1878-1900.* Vol 1. (Sofia: Bûlgarska narodna banka, 2009), pp. 126-133, 140

337 Ivan Salabashev. *Spomeni* (Sofia: Bûlgarska Akademiya na Naukite i Izkustvata – Pechatnitsa Knipegraf, 1943), p. 105

338 Ibid, 106

Salabashev was advised that ".. they are simple Turks, without influence. They cannot be easily given the most beautiful plot in the city. And you are a minister." Upon Salabashev's further refusal, he was told that "This is no malversation (*zloupotreblenie*). All influential persons use their circumstances to make their position."

Illustration 16:
[above]
The wheat market during demolitions, sometime between 1889 and 1900.
[below]
Tŭrgovska street in 1902. The former wheat market area is to back left, near the crossing with Lege street.

Other memoirs from the period also describe Petkov's participation in plot price speculation through intermediaries like Georgi Mimidi, a contractor often hired by the city.[339] Although the mayor was never formally charged, the perception of corruption lingered in the popular imaginary and the yellow press.[340] Petkov was formally found guilty for embezzling public funds three years after his death in 1910, although not in his capacity as mayor, but rather as a public minister.[341]

Although the Sofia municipality was seen as a corrupt institution by many of its contemporaries, it is difficult to determine the extent to which new elites profited from their political position. On the surface, there had existed a degree of legality and transparency that justified municipal decisions. For example, during Petkov's mayorship, an official gazette was printed by the city council, containing minutes of its meetings. Reading through them, however, shows a lack of any vigorous debate and discussion over the cost of plots being repossessed, or ideas for the development of a certain neighborhood. Rather, unanimous agreement from fellow municipal leaders was the norm in approving overage costs, deciding how funds were to be spent, or setting the market price for plots. The late nineteenth-century reconstruction of most of Sofia's housing stock, its street regulation and transformation, effectively supported the city's corrupt managerial elites while creating a real-estate market fraught with inequality.

339 Dobri Ganchev. *Spomeni za Knyazehskoto Vreme.* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo “Zaharii Stoyanov”, 2012), p. 216
340 Popov, p. 67
341 Avramov, vol. 3, 208

Illustration 17: This 1887 plan of Sofia by T. Pishtachev shows most of the Ottoman street grid, before the dramatic changes of Dimitŭr Petkov's mayorship.

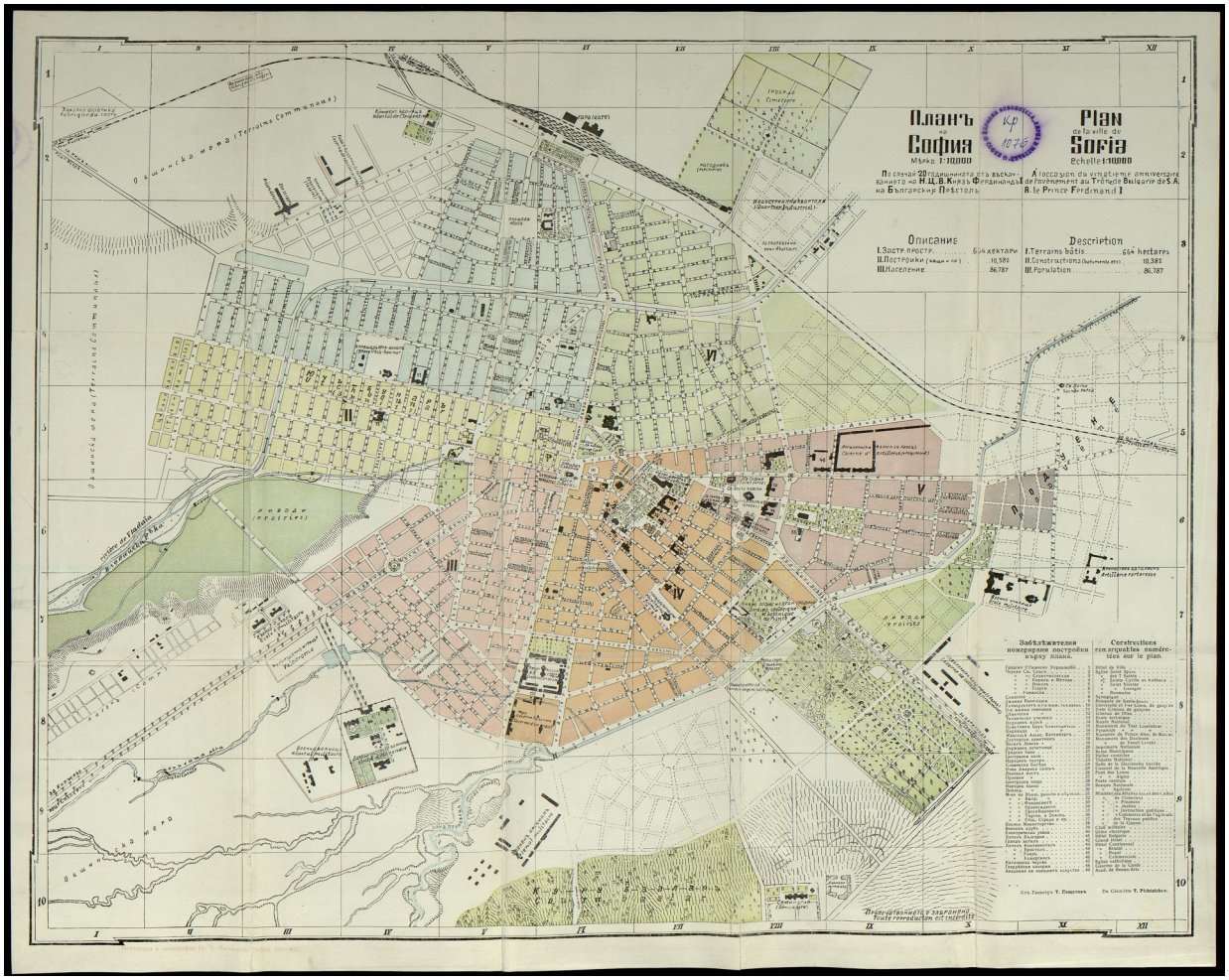

Illustration 18: T. Pishtachev's 1907 plan shows the extraordinary changes during the period of Petkov mayorship. Almost all of the streets have been straightened according to orthogonal vision of the Battenberg plan. The two rivers have been regulated, and agricultural areas around the city have been turned into parks. The newly built railway station connecting the city to Belgrade, Plovdiv and Istanbul is to the north.

The “Europeanization” of the Sofia cityscape was in a mutually-constitutive relationship with the corruption of public officials. Studying this process requires tracing not only political decisions, but also the mechanisms through which nominally public funds were privatized through contracting firms. The well-documented construction of Sofia's sewage system provides us with a good example of the relationship between infrastructural development, corruption, and urban change. Although there were several other significant infrastructural projects, the sewer building records offer the only comprehensive look at project design, bidding, and construction itself. Ultimately, Sofia's sewer was just one example of how urbanization in the Balkans brought together emerging municipal elites, local private entrepreneurs, West European industrial producers, and international finance capital.

Particularly after the proclamation of Bulgarian autonomy, existing conditions in terms of refuse and the flow of water in the city had been exacerbated by population rise. Of the 20 501 residents in 1880, only 55.6% were born in Sofia, a number that would continue to fall until the interwar period.[342] Between 1880 and 1887, the city's population rose by 6.9% annually, and between 1887 and 1892 (the heyday of the construction boom) it rose by 10.13% per year.[343] By 1892, Sofia had become the largest city in Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, with 46 593 inhabitants.[344] The doubling of the city's population in a span of ten years put pressures on existing systems of water supply and refuse treatment. Like almost all early-modern cities, Sofia did not have a centralized method that handled surface run-off, human and other animal waste.

342 A. Ishirkov. “Naselenie, 66 Sofia was the fourth largest city in the country, after Ruse, Varna and Shumen. If Eastern Rumelia (which would join Bulgaria in 1885) is taken into account, the largest city by far was Plovdiv, with 33 032 inhabitants. Emil Hristov. “Demographic development” in Anton Popov et al, eds. *Sofia – 120 years as capital of Bulgaria*. (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and Professor Marin Drinov Academic Publishing House, 2001), p. 78

343 Ishirkov attributes this to the opening of the railway line that linked the city to Europe and Asia Minor in 1888. Ishirkov, “Naselenie...”, p. 65

344 Hristov, “Demographic...”, p. 78

Although the city's climate does not have a profoundly clear rainy season (compared to cities on the Mediterranean littoral), a substantially larger amount of precipitation falls in late spring.[345] Combined with this added amount of water is the spring snowmelt, when torrents from nearby Mount Vitosha would feed into the city's two rivers and form seasonal streams.[346] While many of the Sofia's central streets were cobbled, they had uneven stones, that allowed for some of the rain-water to gradually seep into the water-table directly. This prevented erosion and river bank collapse, but it also made it easier for groundwater to mix between outhouses and wells, which were the primary source of water. In some places, such as the newly-established quarter of Yuchbunar, groundwater levels were as high as 50cm below the surface.[347] Ivan Vazov's 1895 short story “The Flood” describes the quarter, “fruit of brutal speculation”, after the Vladayska river left its banks:

> “Thousands of poor and Jewish families, expelled from the center of the capital in the midst of her renovation, had been cast there with their huts, with their rags, with their smells, sentenced to mildew and epidemic diseases from the wetness of the ground and the miasma of air, the west wind blowing the smoldering cloud, like an invisible contagion over the capital.”[348]

To make matters worse, factories surrounding the city routinely dumped waste-water into the two rivers. Thus, the beer factory, spirit factory and steam washer in the nearby village of Knyazhevo, as well as the sugar factory and the city slaughterhouse all used the Vladayska river, while the ammunition arsenal and the brick factory dumped their waste into the Perlovska.[349]

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345 Dimitûr Topliyski, Stefan Velev, and Ekaterina Koleva. “Climate” in Popov et al, eds. *Sofia.…*, p. 54

346 River capacity rises to 55-65% of maximum carriage in spring, while the low-water period average is 16-32%. Topliyski, Velev and Koleva, p. 58 The seismically unstable Sofia plain also shifted the flows of groundwater frequently. Sava Filaretov notes how snowmelt in the rivers “flooded [the plain] like the sea” in 1858, a few months after a series of strong earthquakes. See: Daskalov, p. 22

347 Orakhovats, 5

348 Ivan Vazov “Navodnenieto” *Draski I sharki*. Available online: http://www.slovo.bg/showwork.php3?AuID=14&WorkID=4894&Level=3 Accessed Oct 20, 2015

349 Ibid, 6

Such pressures onto an existing system of water management, contributed to an epidemic of cholera in 1896, which was quickly followed by dyphteria and smallpox. [350]

It had been in this atmosphere of a rising population and deteriorating conditions of life that the city opened bids for the construction of a sewer system. On 1 April 1892, the city gazette published the protocols of a commission that examined all the proposals.[351] There were twenty five projects in total, supposedly submitted anonymously for the consideration of the committee. The largest share of the names of the projects were in foreign languages, namely French and Latin, with one in German, and one in Bulgarian. Many of the names coupled the discourses of progress and public good: “Pro bono Publico”, “Sophia fleurit et prospère”, “Circulation pas de stagnation”, “Le progrès et les lumières conduisent à la liberté”. The projects represented two basic models for the system. One separated human waste and atmospheric run-off, thus making the city less susceptible to fluctuations in precipitation and snowmelt. The other (*tout l'égout,* “all drainage”) would combine the two. The city's terms, developed by the office of Chief Engineer Momchilov and approved by the City Council, chose the latter version due to its cheaper price. The project's purpose was to fulfill local conditions for the next century.

Foreign experts from Vienna, Rella and Köhn, were invited to determine the best projects available.[352] In the committee's session on March 17th, they determined that none of the plans fulfilled the requirements, although the plan entitled “Steingut” was clearly the best.[353] The

350 Ibid, 42, 54

351 *Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik*, 1.4.1892, p.1

352 Their first names are not mentioned in the source. It is possible that this had been Hugo Rella, who had founded the Viennese H. Rella & Co. with Giovanni Ravagni in 1892. If so, Rella would have already been known for his work on canals in Olmuetz, Bratislava and Meran. Another possibility may have been N. Rella & Neffe company which pioneered reinforced concrete techniques and would later work on water projects in Central Europe. This company had done canal work in Vienna in the early 20th century: *Oesterreichische monatschrift für den öffentlichen baudienst*, Vol. 16 (1910), p. 419, 533, 587

353 *Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik*, 1.4.1892, p.2

discussion took place in several languages, so Chief Engineer Momchilov translated for the group. At the city council session on April 1st, however, the two foreign engineers stood up in protest and read a letter accusing Momchilov of impropriety.[354]

Rella and Köhn described a situation in which, after the initial session of the 16th, Momchilov mentioned to his fellow "city planner" Köhn, that it he was the author of one of the plans. Köhn had immediatelly responded that Momchilov's participation in the bidding committee was inappropriate. Together with his colleague Rella, they drafted the letter that night, in which they stated that it was "unjoinable with our principles" that Momchilov would take part as an "assessment judge". In the same letter, the two engineers added, however, that they appreciated the excellent translation work he has been doing for them.

Momchilov had not only developed the terms used to assess the merits of his plan, but also served the role of translator between experts and the city council. After the letter was sent, Momchilov had gone to look for the two foreigners in the Union Club, and told them that he was withdrawing his project from the bid, and would only participate in the committee under a special desire from mayor Petkov. The next day, on the 17th, the committee met again, presided by the mayor, determining that four plans should be purchased and that the first prize should ultimately go to "Steingut". When the bids were opened, it was discovered that the winning project was indeed authored by Momchilov.

As the vote had already been completed, the two experts came to complain to the city council, reading their letter and asking for their opinion to be separate from the committee. Mayor Petkov, however, rose up to defend the selection of Momchilov's work, stating that you

354 *Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik*, 1.4.1892, p.3

will be “unjust and envious, if now, after knowing the names of the authors, you decide you will throw out any project” and that in such case “your decision will have no bearing on me, as a representative of the municipality to whom you present your studies.”[355] He added that Momchilov was an important engineer, whose opinion should be taken in the committee. Petkov's final argument was that:

> “because he [Momchilov] had worked on the sewer project, it means that he is already familiar with the matter and therefore shall be useful to the municipality, which can thus receive a well studied project – for this I had written him a note, in which I said that he should come and take part even in the studying of the projects, and when decisions are made, he should recuse himself”

As Petkov finished his remarks, he noted his regret for this case of “envy and wickedness of certain persons that give rise to talk in the newspapers, and push to bring down their Bulgarian name”.

It remains unclear whether Petkov's last comment was meant for other engineers in the committee, or perhaps as a jab at the foreignness of the experts themselves. However, from his support of Momchilov, it seems likely that it was in the mayor's interest to select the “Steingut” project. Momchilov was the Chief City Engineer, author of the winning plan, and member of the assessment committee. He participated in all three parts of the selection process for this public-works contract. The engineer was also paid 10 000 leva as the winner of the first prize in the contest, and was seemingly given another 2 500 for the purchase of the project itself[356]

Was the monetary prize the sole reason to push Momchilov's project through? Certainly,

355 *Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik*, 1.4.1892, p. 4

356 Second and third prizes were seven and five thousand leva, respectively, and the lump sum taken out of the budget was 25 000, leaving 500 *leva* unaccounted for. SOV, 10.6.1892, p. 2

it was a hefty sum, some 60% more than the mayor's annual salary. However, in the context of widespread fixing of contractor prices for other municipal works, it may have been possible that Momchilov and Petkov wanted a project suitable for a specific contractor. On 18 Aug 1893, the city council discussed and published a work contract for the sewer project, with very strict specifications on the secondary materials used.[357] In his 1901 overview of the work completed, engineer M. Marinov outlines how the plan was then executed. The bid for the contractor was published on Dec 11, 1893, based on the Momchilov's project.[358] The winners of the bid were Mimidi and C-ie, who wound up delaying the work twice, first initially to the spring of 1894, and then again until 1897. The long exchange of letters between Mimidi and the city testifies first of postponement due to the upcoming winter, then requests of higher prices due to transport costs for material.[359] In mid-summer 1894, Stefan Markov of Mimidi & C-ie clarified that it would be impossible to work that year, considering that they are not able to import the material required and that they were forced to build a factory.[360] Although the municipal commission protested, no fines were given to the company and the contract was not canceled. After the fall of the Stambolov government in 1894, the city council had attempted to cancel the contract, but was blocked by the Ministry.[361] In the meantime, the Mimidi firm was able to construct the “Izida” ceramics and brick factories, 24km east of Sofia in the town of Novoseltsi, which had both clay deposits and a train station.[362] Ultimately, the Viennese engineer Rella had come to terms with his

357 *Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik*, 18.8.1893, p. 4
358 M. Marinov. “Sofiyskata kanalizatsiya” *Spisanie na bûlgarskoto inzhenerno arhitektno druzhestvo* (SBIAD), June 1901, p. 101
359 *Izvlechenie ot deloto po kanalizatsiyata na stolitsa Sofiya ot 1893 do 1897 godina*. (Sofia: Pechatnitsa Iv. P. Daskalov i C-ie, 1897), 23-4, 32
360 Ibid, 37
361 Ibid, 102
362 Svetlana Paunova. “Urbanizmût kato performirane. Higieniziraneto na Sofiya v kraya na XIX I nachaloto na XX vek.” *Godishnik na Sofiyskiya universitet “Sv. Kliment Ohridski” Filosofski Fakultet – Kniga Sotsiologiya.* No. 99 (2008), 238

principles, redesigning the plan upon the city's invitation in 1897. Rella's assessment of the project confirmed Mimidi and C-ie as bid winners and calculated the entire value at 3 278 500 *leva,* or 21% more than the price set in the bid four years prior.[363]

The "Izida" company was a partnership between several people all previously involved in contracting work for the city.[364] Two of them, Avram Davichon Levi and Stefan Markov, explained the company's predicament in a letter to the city commission. They defended their tardiness and requests for higher pricing on the pipes for the project, by outlining the financial difficulties of producing them in Bulgaria and the high expenses of bringing them from abroad. Importing pipes for the sewer lines was expensive, they wrote, "almost as much as we are being paid in the contract", as there were middlemen and transport costs to be covered.[365] The contractors note that the cost of building their two factories for the Sofia sewer was very high "as nearly all the building materials and machineries are brought from abroad".[366] Furthermore, they said, the price of labor was very high as well – speaking of hand and light labor, they note that "In Europe such work is done at a minimal price by children and women, and with us it's paid dearly and too expensively to male laborers." Levi and Markov add that the foreign workers they've hired in their factories receive triple the salaries they would have gotten back home. Finally, there was the cost of coal to consider, bringing their ultimate expenses at 40% over their European counterparts.[367] They urge the government contract to be paid out in full "not to lead to

363 *Izvlechenie ...*, p. 20
364 Aside from Georgi Mimidi, there were Avram and Izrael Davichon/Davidovich Levi, Mihail Tenev, Stefan Markov, Mihail Kalûpov, and Pencho M. Petrov. The only exception to the contracting background was Avram Davidovich Levi, a Plovdiv merchant who had been moving his capital towards industrial production since 1891. Evelina Steneva ed., *Almanah na bûlgarskite industrialtsi 1878-1947.* (Sofia: Istok Zapad, 2005), p. 207
365 *Izvlechenie...*, 112
366 Ibid, 113
367 Ibid, 114-5

the destruction of 10-15 families that engaged their capitals in it."[368] Rella's confirmation of the project and the budgetary increase he approved, allowed the company to utilize the products of its newly-built factory. The Sofia sewer project broke ground in August of 1897 and continued until 1901.

How was this massive investment ultimately executed, and who did the sewer construction benefit? Engineer Marinov's overview of the sewer project also contains a plan of the city's sewer grid.[369] The sewer system predominantly covers the eastern half of the city, with a few exceptions north of the Sv. Kral cathedral and a connection for the Aleksandrovska hospital complex. These areas matched with the bulk of the reconstructed city during the mayorship of Dimitûr Petkov. It was the center of political power, housing the Prince's court, the National Assembly, and other public institutions. Likewise, Oborishte street, the largely vacant area east of the planned memorial Nevski church was included. At the time, the street was not fully built-up, sparsely dotted with bureaucrat and official residences. The plan largely excludes the new areas settled by those expropriated from the center – Bukata and the area north of the Lion's bridge. Neither of these neighborhoods had sewer connections. In the floodplain that was Yuchbunar, whose floods were described so poetically by Vazov, only a single canal is shown, running to the neighborhood church. Marinov's plan overview shows us is that the initial construction of the sewer in Sofia was largely focused on the wealthier neighborhoods. While the promise of modernization was based on ideas of public health and the improvement of living conditions, in practice it sequestered these benefits to the neighborhoods inhabited by the bourgeoisie and state officials.

368 Ibid, 115
369 M. Marinov. "Sofiyskata kanalizatsiya" SBIAD, June 1901, *insert* See Illustration 19

Illustration 19: Momchilov's sewer proposal (section). Dashed lines indicate the location of proposed sewer pipes. Yuchbunar to the west, Bukata to the southwest and the northern area behind Lions' bridge are mostly excluded from the project. As noted earlier, most of the poorer residents of the city center were sold plots in these three neighborhoods during Petkovite street regulations.

The process of laying sewer lines in the newly regulated part of town also meant that streets that were already paved would have to be paved again. In the first two months of 1901, engineer L.H. described this process in an essay examining the paving of Sofia streets.[370] After the laying of sewer pipes, the condition of paving became much poorer:

> "lack of good sidewalks everywhere, as well as connecting cobblestones in the street crossings, takes away any possibility for a man to walk even a hundred meters, without getting muddy or dusty. Of course, the streets hadn't been so bad, especially in places where there was low traffic, but after the building of the sewers they all came into very poor condition…. We all also know that Vitoshka street, from the baths to the station, is being made and remade every year, and at all that it is still muddier and dirtier than the other ones"

The essay was part of a longer debate examining the proper techniques that should be employed by the city council in its ongoing reconstruction process. L.H.'s critique towards pavement practices in Sofia (executed by Georgi Mimidi and others) brought together aesthetics, national pride, and international competition:

> "to help this great evil, the question of truly first-grade importance, which should be the interest not only of every Bulgarian engineer, not only every citizen of the capital, but even every Bulgarian, who wishes, that our capital should represent our country with dignity, to be its reflection, like all capitals are reflections of whole countries"

As the author describes, there are 4000 "new beautiful houses in Sofia"[371], a city in which there are 120 km of streets, out of which 62.5 km with projected sewer lines[372]. The author calculates the total cost of paving the streets to be somewhere around 9 million leva, and asks whether or not it is sensible that the streets should be repaved over again.

City council meeting notes of the mid-1890s demonstrate why streets were repaved, how

370 L.H. "Nastilanieto na Sofiyskite ulitsi" SBIAD, Jan/Feb 1901, p. 11
371 L.H. "Nastilanieto na Sofiyskite ulitsi" SBIAD, Jan/Feb 1901, 11-12
372 L.H. "Nastilanieto na Sofiyskite ulitsi" SBIAD, Jan/Feb 1901, 12

contracts were given for repaving them, and what companies received funds to do so. For example, the sewer contractor, Georgi Mimidi, had previously worked on paving many of Sofia's streets. His company was given contracts regularly without bidding.[373] Two years prior to winning the sewer bid, Mimidi's company was unanimously approved an extraordinary budget overage of 36% for the paving of Cherkovna street.[374] At the same session, he was awarded an extra 5 594.27 leva for building three schools in the new city neighborhoods of Zlatishka, Yuchbunar, and Bukata. That same year, in June, the company was paid for paving Koloyanska street and the area around St. George's church.[375] Six months later, they were paid to do the central streets of Kyustendilska, Pozetano and Tsaribrodska "for the same price as the other streets he is doing". Rather than paying damages to the city for delayed work, or being banned from public projects for budget overages, companies like Mimidi's were consistently given new work funded from the municipal budget.

City council meetings have many examples of overages on returning work. Extra money outside the prescribed budgetary amount was also paid out to the businesses of T.Kazandzhiev[376], the brothers Ivanovi[377], Iv. H. Bobevski[378], and others.[379] The largest benefactor by far was

373 Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik, 22.3.1894, 1; 19.8.1892, 2; 3.2.1893, 2
374 Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik, 12.2.1892, 1
375 Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik, 17.6.1892, 1
376 Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik, 12.2.1892, 1
377 Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik, 26.2.1892, 3, Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik 8.12.1893, 3 Brothers Ivanovi were also the contractors for the construction of the Alexander Battenberg memorial in 1897. The brothers traded in weapons with Macedonian revolutionaries during the late nineteenth century. Their firm had owned the "Bratya Ivanovi" and "Zlatishkiya han" hotels. They were also the founders of the construction firm "Granatoid", one of the largest companies in Bulgaria prior to 1944. In the interwar period, they would transition to banking. The architect Georgi Fingov would build them a opulent Secession-style residence on Angel Kûnchev street in 1905, which was succeeded by another Viennese-style palace on Denkoglu street in 1912. On hotel ownership: *Zlatna kniga na daritelite za narodna prosveta, t. 2* (1923), p. 284 On weapons sales, see: Tsocho Bilyarski, *Knyazhestvo Bûlgariya I makedonskiyat vûpros. t. 1 Vûrhoven makedono-odrinski komitet 1895-1905 (Protokoli ot kongresite)*, (Sofia: Bûlgarska istoricheska biblioteka, 2002), 99, 135, 142 On banking: Zhak Natan and Lyuben Berov, *Monopolicheskiyat kapitalizûm v Bûlgariya.* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1958), 170, 186
378 Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik, 17.6.1892, 1
379 Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik, 14.10.1892, 2; 14.7.1893, 1; 5.9.1893, 1; 8.12.1893, 2; 22.3.1894, 1; 31.3.1894, 2

Mimidi, whose company sometimes received overages without even naming the work-site, but rather for vague terms, such as “added material for the paving of streets in the city”, or “the making of a street and the delivery of gravel and sand”.[380] Decisions were always unanimous, and sometimes contractors would be unnamed in the records, even if overage amounts were quite high (35 000 lv).[381]

Sofia's satirical press poked fun at the idea of street reconstruction and the image of modernity projected by the city council. In one of the first critiques of street repaving, *Staro i novo vreme* [Old and New Times], reported that the Director of Winter Temperatures Mr. Réaumur and his colleague Mr. Celsius have been tasked by the City Council to “dry up almost all [streets] and flatten out the sidewalks”.[382] Steamship travel will be instituted between the city's neighborhoods as soon as the ice clears, added another announcement.[383] These early comments made fun of the nascent modernization drive, indicating the ways in which it was incongruous with the immediate experience of a city. Later satirical jabs at the city's “Europeanization” recognized the role of finance and corruption in the building of urban infrastructure.

In July 1898, a humorous dictionary entry in the satirical newspaper *Smyah i* sûlzi [Laughter and Tears] reflected on electrification in the city: “Lighting – a coffer for the storage of national wealth”.[384] An image published in the August edition dealt with the same topic by depicting a white-suited dandy explaining to a counterpart how he got rich: “Bribe, my brother ..

380 Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik, 2.6.1893, 2; 22.3.1894, 1
381 Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik, 24.6.1892, 2
382 “Popravanie na ulicite” *Staro i novo vreme,* 31.12.1882, p. 2
383 “Obyavlenie – Sofiysko Parahodno Druzhestvo” *Staro i novo vreme,* 31.12.1882, p. 4
384 “Nov rechnik”, *Smyah i sûlzi*, 20 Jul 1898, p. 2

you know… little by little."[385]Other critiques highlighted the anxieties over the bursting of a real-estate bubble that had emerged in the aftermath of reconstruction. In another caricature two men are shown speaking and smoking in a tavern over a pair of beers.[386] One of them asks: "Why do so many houses in Sofia have such a sad appearance"? The other replies: "Because almost all of them have been mortgaged to the Bulgarian National Bank, and soon will be sold to cover the debt." The humor of the caricature lies in the switch of meaning in which "sadness" described the financial condition of Sofia's construction boom.

Finance, Infrastructure And West European Industry

The transformation of the city would have been impossible without the help of financial capital that credited the city's extensive transformation. The erasure of the Ottoman core, the construction of new buildings and the paving of streets were all funded by loans taken first from the National Bank, followed by British, Austro-Hungarian and German financial institutions. Many of such funds were also misappropriated, maintaining the corrupt municipal regime that managed their use. They also funded local contractors and industrialists like the Izida brick factory, Georgi Mimidi, and the Ivanovi brothers. All of them employed unguilded, wage labor mostly made up of migrants from the countryside. Finally, much of this investment into "urban renewal" went back to Germany, Austria-Hungary or France, to factories that exported pipes, decorative elements and machinery to Sofia.

The city borrowed no significant amounts of money until 1889, when a Petkov-led delegation signed a deal for a 10 million leva loan with the London-based Anglo-Foreign Banking Company. While the loan was meant to cover the costs of the reconstruction and the

385 *Smyah i sûlzi*, 22 Aug 1898, p. 2
386 *Smyah i sûlzi*, 10 Oct 1898, p. 3

building of sewers and the waterworks, none of these were completed. The city was forced to take another four million in 1893, this time from the National Bank, unhappy with conditions in the international financial market.[387] After the end of the Petkovite period in 1897, as Toma Vasilyov notes, the city's debt per capita was 281.94lv, three times more than the second runner, Plovdiv at 88.[388] Sofia's revenue to income ratio was in an even worse state, as it had double the income of Plovdiv, but triple its debt. By 1906, the debt crisis was unbearable with smaller local loans, and the city took out a 35 million leva loan from the Berliner Handelsgessellschaft.[389] The loan was meant to refinance existing debts, and support street regulation, sewers and waterworks. In 1910, the city would take another 15 million leva from the Viennese Allgemeine Verkehrsbank for the same purpose.[390] Most of the loans were taken at 6-8% annual interest, but also included complex exchange rates and brokrage fees – for example, the Verkehrsbank loan would only yield the municipality 13.05 million even before interest began to accrue.[391] The implementation of the Battenberg urban plan that required street regulation and produced a profitable speculative real-estate market was entirely funded out of foreign loans. Likewise, funds for large infrastructural projects that funneled public money into private contractor firms and the pockets of corrupt officials, such as the construction of the city sewers and the re-paving of streets, also came from the same source.

The extreme indebtedness that so plagued Toma Vasilyov funded various projects of what

387 Pencho Hristov "Finansiite na sofiyskata obshtina" in Arheologicheski institut BAN. *Yubileyna kniga na grad Sofiya, 1878-1928*. (Sofia: Knipegraf, 1928), 413 The loan was funded by an emission of state-guaranteed bonds that were available to local capitalists, but also on the international market. See "Nyakolko dumi za pet protsentoviya gradski zaem" *Nov Istochen Telegraf*, 24 Apr 1899, p. 2
388 Vasilyov, p. 22
389 Pencho Hristov, p. 414
390 DAS 13, f. 1k, op. 2, a.e. 1515, l. 1-2
391 Ibid and Hristov, p. 415

is known today as “urban renewal”.[392] The purpose of these aesthetic innovations was to increase urban prestige, memorialize national figures and reconstruct areas seen to have poor appearance. The city often counted on a “spillover effect”, that these new projects would promote economic activity. In Sofia, this included the construction of two bridges over the city's rivers, with detailed sculptures of lions and eagles. Among others structures, a monument to Vasil Levski, the national revolutionary hung by the Ottomans, was constructed; a large city garden was established which included the building of an artificial lake and pavilion; decorated public urinals were installed; and a mausoleum for the formerly deposed prince Alexander Battenberg was built. Massive infrastructural projects began to be implemented as well, such as the electrification of the city, the construction of tramway lines, and the complete restructuring of the water supply system. Finally, the city prepared to build a covered market akin to Les Halles in Paris (dubbed similarly as *Halite),* as well as a complete re-building of the city baths in order to attract tourists.

Between 1889 and 1891, the Prošek architectural firm designed two elaborate bridges on what were the outer edges of Sofia's urban core. In the north, the Prošeks heavily reconstructed a pre-existing Ottoman bridge, transforming its appearance with ironwork and four large iron-wrought statues of lions. The Lions' Bridge, as it came to be known, was designed as a memorial for four young men executed by the Ottoman authorities during the Russo-Turkish War. Its counterpart was the Eagles' Bridge, to the south of the city, where four statues of eagles

392 Contemporary analyses of these trends focus on the ways in which inter-urban competition, entrepreneuralism and the localizing 'politics of place' has played a role in the shift from Fordist to models of 'flexible accumulation' since roughly the 1970s. I contend that, at least in the late and post-Ottoman context of de-industrialization, such developments have a longer history. See Volume 71, No. 1 of *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* (January 1, 1989), particularly Swyngedouw, Erik A. “The Heart of the Place: The Resurrection of Locality in an Age of Hyperspace.” and Harvey, David. “From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism.” On post-Ottoman deindustrialization, see Palairet, *The Balkan Economies C.1800-1914*, chapter on Bulgaria and Şevket Pamuk and Jeffrey G. Williamson. “Ottoman de-Industrialization, 1800–1913: Assessing the Magnitude, Impact, and Response.” *The Economic History Review* 64 (February 1, 2011): 159–84.

memorialized Bulgarian revolutionaries that had returned from imprisonment in eastern Anatolia during 1878.[393] The production of these space of national memory signaled progress with its use of steel and iron elements designed by the Habsburg-educated engineers.

The metalwork on the bridges, including the production of the statues, was completed by the Viennese firm of Rudolph Philipp Waagner.[394] The lions were to be produced according to specifications from the city's technical bureau, and after a series of confusing bids, the job won by the Waagner firm. The four lions were 2.4m tall each, set on the bridge that carried pedestrian, wheeled and tram transport from the central train station towards the city. As the stenographic protocols of city council sessions indicate, the Waagner firm had fudged bids through its Sofia representative several times, ultimately doubling the cost of the project.[395] After the fall of the Petkov government, the new city council attempted to prosecute him for embezzlement of public funds, however the case was thrown out.[396] The memoirs of Georgi Kanazirski-Verin highlight

393 The Ottoman state imprisoned Bulgarian nationalist revolutionaries in various places in eastern Anatolia and the Arab provinces throughout the 19th century. Although some experienced harsh conditions, others were effectively in exile, able to live in the city, open shops, get married, or start businesses.

394 R. Ph. Waagner had also been responsible for the construction of the Bulgarian church of St. Stephen in Istanbul. The church had been pre-fabricated from steel components in Vienna and transported by ship to Istanbul between 1893-1896. For more on the construction, see: Blagovesta Ivanova and Radi Ganev, "'Zhelyazoto' i stomanata v hrama 'Sv. Stefan' v Istanbul" LiterNet. URL: http://liternet.bg/publish22/b_ivanova/sv-stefan.htm Accessed Oct 12th, 2015 After its work in Bulgaria, the firm had developed into a serious player, building several important Viennese bridges in the interwar period, and completing stage engineering for the Sydney Opera in 1960. Its contemporary work is the tessellated roof of the Great Court in the British Museum, the Gherkin dome in London, the Reichstag dome, the Sony Center in Berlin, the Zlote Tarasy commercial complex in Warsaw, and others. A history of the company was published in Harald Mandl, *140 Jahre Waagner-Biró. (1854 - 1994)*. (Wien: Waagner-Biro AG,1995)

395 The city had budgeted 14 500 for the whole job (including lampposts and miscellaneous expenses). Waagner's representative, mr. Eineiger or Eineigel had offered a backdated bid at 13 200 at first, then claimed that the bid was in error, offered 18 500, and then finally 37 500. The last amount was accepted and the contract signed in March 1891. Sofiyskoto Obshtinsko Upravlenie. *Ukrashavanie I blago ustroyavanie na bûlgarskata stolitsa prez 1889-93 god. Stenograficheski protokoli za zasedaniyata na Sofijskii Obshtinski Sûvet po izuchvanie predpriyatiyata za dostavkite na: I. lûvovete y fenerite za "Shareniya most" IyII. Chugunenite trûbi y dr. predmeti za vodosnabdyavanieto na Stolitsata.* (Sofia: Pridvorna Pechatnitsa Br. Proshekovi, 1895), pp. 7-9

396 Testifying to the tight relationship between the judicial branch and the political elite is the conclusion of the court, which determined that "a simple difference in price" between the winning bid and others was not evidence of wrongdoing. DAS. f 1k op. 2 a.e. 23 l. 22.

the ways in which the memory of construction lingered in the popular imagination of Sofiaites. He remembers a frequent joke in which the lions' statues had no tongues “so they couldn't say how much was stolen in the building of the bridge.”[397]

Illustration 20: Views of Eagles’ and Lions’ bridges. Iv. A. Karastoyanov, 1907.
Both bridges were at the former borders of Ottoman Sofia. The Eagles’ bridge linked the city to the Istanbul road, while the Lions’ bridge connected the railway station with the city center.

397 Georgi Kanazirski-Verin, 30

A more serious corruption scandal concerning R. Ph. Waagner had been discovered when Sofia lawyer D. Markov erroneously received a letter destined for the head of the city's technical division, T. Markov.[398] The letter outlined a “renumeration of 18 000 leva” for Markov's help with the mayor.[399] Between 1891 and 1892, the city had run out of funds, and was unable to continue purchasing of water pipes, some of which had already been produced and remained in the factory.[400] Max Epler of the Viennese firm had asked for the city's remaining payments to include additional money for storage and interest on pipes not delivered.[401] Through Markov's approval of a payment plan table, the company was ultimately able to receive money for all the pipes it delivered, including an additional 9%.[402]

Near the Eagles' Bridge, the city had designs to build a commercial pavilion in the largest city park, the Prince Boris gardens. Designed by Ya. Sharmadzhiev, the building was projected to be in the center of an artificial lake of 175x70 m.[403] The pavilion was to have a salon, cafe, restrooms, a kitchen, winter storage, living quarters for the maintainer and a “fairly tall tower, where it is suggested that music will play.” It also included have two very large terraces in the design. The total cost of the building and the lake was projected at 145 000 leva.[404] Although the article noted that the building should be made by concession, the city had already earmarked 40 000 for the construction in its budget for the coming year.[405]

During the Petkov mayorship, some of the larger infrastructural projects were

398 The post-Petkovite city government had hired attorney Filippov to investigate the case. It decided ultimately to sue Markov and Petkov for damages due to negligence. Sofiyskoto Obshtinsko Upravlenie. *Ukrashavanie…*, 16

399 It is possible that the bribe could have come from an entry in the budget for “other unforeseen items and the rounding off of the total sum”. Ibid, 20-21

400 These financial issues would be temporarily resolved by the 4 million leva loan taken in1893.

401 Ibid, 27

402 Ibid, 31

403 Appendix, Figure 4

404 SBIAD, Apri & May 1899, p. 98

405 SBIAD, April & May 1899, p. 104

conceptualized jointly. The reconstruction of the water supply was meant to power a hydro-electric plant that would electrify the city and then power its tramway lines. In the words of engineer St. Hr. Geshov, "The idea of electric lights and tram dates from 1891, the epoch of grandiose endeavors by the Sofia Mayorship, whose results was the squandering of a million or two.."[406] In 1893, Ganz and C-ie, a Budapest firm, had laid the foundations for the electric power plant by the Vitosha foothills in the Boyana village.[407] The projected cost was 2.4 million leva. Work started, but soon after it had been discovered that the Swiss engineer Comte had miscalculated the amount of water available. Ultimately almost 600 000 leva were paid to the Budapest company.[408] Even though they could not deliver on the contract, Ganz and C-ie managed to install pipes made by Mannesmann-röhrenwerke, a Berlin firm.[409] Like the decorations for its new bridges, the infrastructure of Sofia's renewal was produced by West European factory labor.

In June 1898, Ch. Bertolus of Saint Ettiene had won a renewed bid for building the tram service. This time, it was a 40 year concession, in exchange for guaranteed payment for electricity from the city. After Bertolus had sold his bid to the Societe des Grands travaux de Marseille and Societe Anonyme des tramways electriques de Sophia (Brussels), the city signed a contract with the two firms in December 1898.[410] The hydroelectric power would now come from the Iskar river, a bit further from the city. It was generated by a new system which employed Piccard-Pictet turbines (produced in Geneva) and electrical conductors of the Schweizerische

406 St. Hr. Geshov "Sofiyskite eletricheski: dvigatelna sila, tranvay i osvetlenie" *SBIAD*, Nov 1900, 201
407 Letters between the city council engineers and the company's surveyors about the foundations can be found in DAS. F 1k op 3 a.e. 1003
408 St. Hr. Geshov "Sofiyskite eletricheski: dvigatelna sila, tranvay i osvetlenie" SBIAD, Nov 1900, p. 201
409 The installed Mannesmann pipes are mentioned in the correspondence between the city council and Ganz & C-ie. Their cost was noted as 300 000 leva. DAS f 1k op 5 a.e. 617, l. 4
410 SBIAD, January and Fenruary 1899, p. 24

Werkzeugsfabrik Oerlikon (made in Zurich).[411] The course of the city's Europeanization ran through Sofia's six newly-proposed tram lines. West European credit, technical expertise and heavy industry were bound up with the interests of an eager and financially-pliable municipal elite that signed contracts guaranteeing profits.

In early 1901, the trams had already begun moving regularly on some of the constructed lines. The sense of municipal impropriety and collusion with the foreign investors was echoed in the Sofia press. The *Telegraf* wrote of that Belgian owner, Vacaro "had moved to Bulgaria naked and barefoot and today is almost a millionaire".[412] The paper also described the labor conditions of the tram workers. The conductors and drivers worked twelve hours a day, for a 2.5 leva daily salary.[413] There was no work security – people were paid only for the days they worked, they had to go through a 40 day unpaid trial period. A few weeks later, the same paper published an expose of the concession terms, outlining the various ways the contract was being broken by the Belgian firm.[414] On 9 Aug 1901, these conditions led 60 tram workers to strike. They complained of very long work days, including 16-18 hour shifts "after which the worker is thrown out like a squeezed lemon".[415] The strike ended the next day, as the company agreed to have two workers on each shift allowing them to swap.[416] Against the growing urban machine, this was but one in a series of coming struggles – organized and spontaneous, collective and individual.

Caught in a web of urbanization, it had been foreign loans, a speculative real-estate market and corrupt officials that guided Sofia's housing boom. Just as in Belgrade, where two

411 SBIAD, Nov 1900, p. 205
412 "Nyakolko dumi po upravlenieto an Sofiyskite tramvai" *Telegraf*, 5 Feb 1901, p. 2 The paper had used anti-Semitic language to complain about the trial period.
413 "Nyakolko dumi po upravlenieto an Sofiyskite tramvai" *Telegraf*, 5 Feb 1901, p. 3
414 "Po eksploatatsiyata na stolichnite tramvai" *Telegraf*, 19.2.1901, p. 2
415 "Za vcherashnata stachka" *Telegraf* 10 Aug 1901, p. 1
416 "Otstûpili" *Telegraf*, 10 Aug 1901, p. 2

spurs of construction were fueled by dispossession outside and inside the entrenchments, so did Sofia's metamorphosis yield tremendous results. Between 1888 and 1907, the main loan years, the number of built plots grew from 5635 to 9382, the city's population from 30 to 86 thousand, and its built area from 2.49km2 to 6.64km2.[417] As Sofia was embarking on the path of Europeanization, Belgrade mayor Živko Karabiberović wrote to the Minister of Finance in July of 1888, asking for government support to take out a foreign loan:

> "In Belgrade, the Serbian capital, there is sense of a need for a while now, and especially since Serbia has risen to the degree of a Kingdom, to once and for all wear the type of clothing that is appropriate to the capital of a Kingdom: in other words, to have water (good and in sufficient supply), sewers, a better pavement, a quai, an entrepot, warehouses, etc. etc."[418]

It would take two years and one rejection, but ultimately Belgrade's municipal leaders were persistent enough to win approval for a 10 million franc loan from foreign creditors.[419] In August of 1890, the city's municipal newspaper envied Sofiaites on their beautification projects and new buildings, listing gleefully the advancements of the Bulgarian capital.[420]

417 Trendafil K. Trendafilov. "Gradoustroitelstvo na stolitsata" in *Yubileyna...*, 365
418 *Beogradske Opštinske Novine*, 3 Nov 1888, p. 297-8
419 *Beogradske Opštinske Novine*, 17 Jun 1890, p. 159
420 *Beogradske Opštinske Novine*, 26 Aug 1890, p. 215

CHAPTER THREE: "TOIL, WORK AND THEN"

GENDER AND SEX WORK IN THE BALKAN CITY

On an August evening in 1907, Zorka Panićeva, a 16 year old worker, attacked the university professor Svetozar Zorić in the middle of Terazije, Belgrade's busiest square.[421] In an interview with the daily *Pravda* [Justice], Zorka explained that she did so because she was "despicably double-crossed" by the professor.[422] The man had shortchanged her in payment for sex, giving her six dinars instead of the promised two hundred.[423] On the urging of the interviewer that she "sold herself", Panićeva responded affirmatively. "Yes, sir, I sold myself! I sold myself just as those poor girls who marry an old but rich man, and then after 3-4 years ask for a divorce and alimony. I sold my decency, but I sold it because I had nothing else to sell … As you know, one does not live from bare decency."[424]

Panićeva was prompted to speak to the papers because Zorić had threatened to sue her for assault. She wanted "the court of the public to judge him as I will be judged by a court of law."[425] For her interviewer, Zorka Panićeva was "a true representative of the type of female factory worker which are from early youth left to their own devices and pushed into the whirlpool of

421 "Devojka tukla čoveka" *Pravda*, 4.8.1907, p. 2 Svetozar Zorić (1853-1932) was one of the founders of the mechanical sciences section at the University of Belgrade. He was the father of Milica Zorić (1909-1989), a visual and tapestry artist, and the uncle of Nadežda Petrović (1873-1915), Serbia's most important impressionist painter. He spent his free time painting female nudes, some of which are exhibited today at the Zorić-Čolaković Legacy Gallery in Belgrade.

422 "Profesor Univerziteta I fabrička radnica" *Pravda*, 23.8.1907, p. 3 *Pravda* was a paper associated with the Progressive Party, a political organization whose purposes involved combining a program of educational enlightenment, civil liberties and a conservative social outlook. The Progressives were founded by the Young Conservatives (*mladokonservativci*) in 1881 and remained close to the court. For an overview of the political scene in Serbia and the rise of Young Conservatives see Gale Stokes, *Politics as Development: The Emergence of Political Parties in Nineteenth Century Serbia*. (Duke University Press, 1990), pp. 180-183, 200-209

423 "Profesor Univerziteta I fabrička radnica" *Pravda*, 25.8.1907, p. 3

424 "Profesor Univerziteta I fabrička radnica" *Pravda*, 23.8.1907, p. 3 According to her testimony, on the days she worked in the factory, Zorka Panićeva would earn two dinars. She and her sister supported their widower father and other children at home.

425 "Profesor Univerziteta I fabrička radnica" *Pravda*, 20.8.1907, p. 3

life...” In her own words, however, Panićeva situated her claim for remuneration as part of the wider structural conditions of women's work. Adamant that workers did not share the sexual mores of the bourgeoisie, the young woman pointed out that “The poor don't appreciate maidenhood the way you *think* the rich do.”[426] When the interviewer suggested that her poverty could have been solved by marriage, Zorka fired back: “And what would I obtain at last, even if I got married? I'd have to toil, work and then, perhaps now not just for me, but also for the husband and the kids.”

Zorka's words linked unwaged and waged intimate labor in the nineteenth century Balkan city. For her, domestic and sex work were part of a continuum of toil, to be navigated and evaded. Her views were also in sharp contrast to the public and institutional perception of the sale of sex, which saw the act as moral and personal failure far apart from the propriety of domestic life. “Let this world, which will see me as a fallen girl from now on, let it see how I've fallen and how girls in Belgrade are brought to fall” she indicated in her initial letter to the paper. [427] In the interview, Zorka outlined her position within the wider material circumstances under which intimacy was commodified in the fin-de-siècle city. She perceived the economic and social as intertwined, binding existence within a set of conditions and shaping the character of her critique.

When Zorka described intimate labor as toil, she did so within a complex and multifaceted context of social change. In the second half of the nineteenth century, anxieties over the expansion of commodity culture in Balkan urban spaces became increasingly mapped onto bourgeois ideas of gender. While such models pit productive husbands against spendthrift wives,

426 “Profesor Univerziteta I fabrička radnica” *Pravda,* 24.8.1907, p. 3
427 “Devojka tukla čoveka” *Pravda*, 4.8.1907, p. 2

they often did so by affirming the central role of “women's work” in making the social whole. Simultaneously, bourgeois masculinity became increasingly tied up with access to commodified sex and other forms of intimacy as distinctly urban pleasures. Class and scopophilia (the pleasure of watching) became closely bound in the categorization of a varied set of spaces, starting from the street through variety parlors to brothels. For many migrants, domestic workers and servants, such spaces of erotic entertainment were not integral to the *theatrum mundi*, but rather part of a variety of strategies for survival. Domestic and sex workers were forced to negotiate their positions against a medical/carceral apparatus which surveilled, harassed and pathologized women. While municipal officials employed the discourse of public health as justification, their concerns were often tied to male panic over how reproductive labor itself would be performed and socially distributed. The ultimate effect of these changes was a devaluation and precarization of sex and domestic work in the city.

This chapter examines the social transformation of Sofia and Belgrade by tracing how intimacy was commodified and new forms of gendered space emerged during the second half of the nineteenth century. I begin the chapter by elucidating how the rise of commodity society was mapped onto ideas of gender. As West European consumer goods flooded Balkan cities after the 1860s, urban culture itself began to be seen as a threat to an imagined traditional/patriarchal social order. On the obverse side of corrupting urbanity was the city as a space of male erotic pleasure. For bourgeois men in particular, spaces of erotic entertainment, such as dance parlors, variety shows, and brothels, became part of a culture of masculinity based on purported access and availability of working women's bodies. By looking at the conditions of work in these spaces, my purpose is to trace the ways in which scopophilia (the pleasure of watching)

interfaced with set performances of femininity. I see these performances as taking part in the establishment of bourgeois regimes of gender, forming commodified forms of intimate work and social interaction.

Following this discussion, I examine at the contemporaneous emergence of a medical apparatus which dealt with and structured the lives of sex workers. Part of a wider set of urban institutions, the medicalization of prostitution interfaced with the police and carceral systems in order to devalue and make precarious various forms of sex and service work. Regimes of surveillance developed by medical professionals, I argue, reflected wider social anxieties over women's work in the making of the city.

Finally, by tracing the porous line between sex and service work, I follow Zorka Panićeva's questioning of the sharp division between sex work and other forms of intimate labor (whether waged or unwaged).[428] I discuss the ways in which performing sex was part of the experience of many working class and migrant women in the city, whether it took place in spaces of erotic entertainment, domestic or service labor. My hope is to highlight the ways in which the changing performance of gendered selves hinged on one's role in the social distribution of intimate labor. Such a transformation was a terrain of struggle, in which people sought to shape their world from various positions of power. The new gender boundary and the new Balkan city were made through an unequal, but tense renegotiation of how one's subsistence was tied to the subsistence of others.

Existing urban histories of the Balkans have largely excluded gender and sex work from

428 I follow Eileen Boris & Rhacel Salazar Parreñas' definition of intimate labor as “not just sexual gratification, but also our bodily upkeep, care for loved ones, creating and sustaining social and emotional ties, and health and hygiene maintenance.” Eileen Boris & Rhacel Salazar Parreñas eds. *Intimate labors: Cultures, Technologies, and the Politics of Care*. (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2010), 5

their frame of analysis, focusing primarily on processes of spatial transformation and the emergence of "modern" social relations.[429] In other regions, however, studying sex work has provided substantial critical perspectives on processes of social formation.[430] My work follows in part their critique by interrogating how the commercialization of intimacy is imbricated in the making of the social whole. As sociologists and activists have argued, the diversity of experiences and varied levels of agency of sex workers are often related both to the conditions of their employment and the wider context of socio-economic transformation.[431] Sex work can take a myriad of forms, and exploitation in the form of "pimping" is more often rooted in socio-economic conditions, rather than being an intrinsic feature the sale of sex.[432] This study lends its voice to a growing field of scholarship which, in the words of Ashwini Tambe, provides "a cautionary view of the gaps in, and scope for abuse of, universalist discourses associated with prostitution."[433] Moving away from debates over exploitation, I seek to understand how sex work and commodified intimacy shaped social space and structured bourgeois ideas about the organization of social relations.

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429 One exception is Nataša Mišković's *Bazari i bulevari. Svet života u Beogradu 19. veka* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 2010), in particular sections "Priče o uspehu. Porodice beogradskih preduzetnika." and "Svet života beogradske političke elite", pp. 313-356. Studies of sex work in the Balkans have often been relegated to social histories and histories of gender. See for example "Seksualnost i prostitutsiya" Krassimira Daskalova, *Zheni, pol i modernizatsiya v Bûlgariya 1878-1944* (Sofia: SU Kliment Ohridski, 2012), 435-484, "Prostitutsiya" in Roumen Daskalov, *Bûlgarskoto obshtestvo 1878-1939,* vol. 2, (Sofia: IK Gutenberg, 2005), 200-208, Dragan Radulović. *Prostitucija u Jugoslaviji* (Beograd: Izdavaštvo "Filip Višnjić", 1986), Vladimir Jovanović, "Prostitucija u Beogradu tokom XIX veka" *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju,* IV, No 1 (1997): 7-24

430 Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros;* Svati P. Shah. *Street Corner Secrets: Sex, Work, and Migration in the City of Mumbai*. (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2014)

431 Laura Agustín. *Sex at the Margins: Migration, Labour Markets and the Rescue Industry*. (London and New York: Zed Books, 2007); Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema, eds. *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance and Redefinition*. (New York: Routledge, 1998)

432 Luise White. *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*. (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1990), 9

433 Ashwini Tambe, *Codes of Misconduct: Regulating Prostitution in Late Colonial Bombay.* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 2009), p. 130

I am not suggesting that sex work be understood as the dominant force in shaping Balkan cities. Rather, I argue that we take what one may consider a "marginal" practice as uniquely revelatory of wider societal forces that shaped the performance of gendered selves.[434] Historically, the legal and discursive vilification of the sale of sex acts has taken the role of devaluing the crucial role of intimate labor in the making of society. Paraphrasing Morgane Merteuil, to study the commodification of sex is thus to study how economic interests are secured through sex, class, and gender.[435] Thinking through sex work as part of wider social transformations means to question "the backbone of the entire process."[436] This study of sex and service work in the city is part of a wider structural history of primary accumulation, with a particular focus on the deep inequalities it has historically produced.

Consumption Anxiety

The Europeanization of the Balkan city involved the rise of waged labor, wealth inequality, and conspicuous consumption. While guild manufacturing plummeted in Serbia, and textile production dwindled in Bulgaria, both wealthy merchant elites and the new clerk class increasingly participated in the purchase of luxury goods from abroad. Clothing from Vienna or Paris symbolized the enlightenment promise of the national project, the drive to be included among civilized nations and cultural revival after independence from the Ottoman Empire. In the

434 I take cue from Mary Spongberg, who argues that social attitudes towards venereal disease and sex work help us understand gender as a structural force organizing society. In *Feminizing Venereal Disease*, Spongberg outlines how the medicalization of sex work played a crucial role in the making of "feminine pathology", an understanding of society in which women were seen as an innnately pathological, contaminated other. See in particular the chapter on syphilis, male sexuality and female degeneration. Mary Spongberg. *Feminizing Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century Medical Discourse*. (Washington Square, N.Y.: New York University Press, 1997)

435 Morgane Merteuil. "Le travail du sexe contrele travail". *Période* Published online. URL: http://revueperiode.net/le-travail-du-sexe-contre-le-travail/ English translation. "Sex Work Against Work" *Viewpoint*. Published online. URL: https://viewpointmag.com/2015/10/31/sex-work-against-work/

436 Leopoldina Fortunati, *The Arcane of Reproduction: Housework, Prostitution, Labour and Capital*, (London: Autonomedia, 1995), 17.

imperial territories themselves, such sartorial choices were just as frequent.[437] Throughout the autonomous territories and the Empire proper, stores, magazines and daily newspapers advertised items that allowed buyers to participate in a global bonanza of commodities. Particularly after 1850, the proliferation of consumer credit and the rise of commodity culture also produced anxieties that were mapped onto gender differences.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the "Europeanizing" Ottoman city exploded in a wealth of commodities. Wholesale merchants in Belgrade sold "Panama hats.. French top hats with or without a spring, a variety of shoes, Oxford shirts, the finest chiffon..."[438] Manufactured goods from West European capitals flooded the market. Sales boomed to such an extent that local guilds campaigned fiercely (and in vain) to ban imports.[439] One could easily find clothing items from the Nuremberg fairs or American leather.[440] Sofia was in a similar position. In the 1860s, it was still a stopping point on the transfer of Viennese commodities to Plovdiv and bigger cities in the east.[441] After the city's proclamation as the national capital and its immense restructuring in the 1880s, papers in Sofia advertised the visits of famous Parisian hat-makers, and discussed the latest fashion trends in Chicago.[442] New markets for conspicuous commodities took place within the context of increasing social stratification.

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437 Charlotte Jirousek "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Late Ottoman Empire" and Elizabeth B. Frierson "Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society" in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922, ed.* Donald Quataert (Binghamton: State University of New York Press, 2000)

438 *Beogradski brzojavnik*, 6.4.1872, p. 298 Catering to the interests of emerging merchant class, the newspaper regularly published current prices on commodity markets in Budapest and Vienna.

439 Vučo, *Raspadanje Esnafa u Srbiji*

440 *Beogradski brzojavnik*, 6.5.1872, p. 409, 25.5.1872, p. 466,

441 The Sofiaite Christian merchant and city concil member, Dimitûr Traykovich was involved in the trade of Viennese clothing and furniture from the West to Plovdiv. TsDA, f. 628k , op. 1, a.e. 112, l. 2 also published in Dinekov, p. 44

442 "Parizh v Sofiya" *Sofiyski novini* 10.6.1906. p. 1, "Sofiyski klon "Za modi v Chikago", *Sofiyski novini*, 25.6.1906. p. 1

Popular periodicals projected anxieties over this socio-economic transformation onto women, while characterizing men's' participation in changing fashion trends as "civilizing." The figure of the lazy, spendthrift wife and the industrious husband was tied to the advent of new, modern social relations. In *The Moustachioed Man*, the New Year of 1885 was lampooned as an opportunity for an exploitative wife covered in fancy wear to squeeze the last dime of her husband [443] Such clothing choices were seen as extravagant, ridiculed and linked to a "near future", as Sofia's *Laughter and Tears* entitled an image of a woman wearing a cat for a hat.[444] Other publications saw women as harbingers of conspicuous commodities, a troubling "new school of advanced days."[445]

The satirical press organized public opinion against such "modernities", discursively linking the downfall of national pride, changing gender relations, and the penetration of a corrupting West. In Belgrade, figuring women as the carriers of national downfall took overt political forms. In entire sets of caricatures, Austria-Hungary (seen as a major pretender towards Balkan territories) was presented as a rapacious woman in fashionable European-style dress, promoting the consumption of alcohol and mischievousness.[446] In Sofia, *Laughter and Tears* interpreted modern urban life through a glossary of terms called the *New Dictionary*. Definitions involved terms such as "splendor – the instinct of the woman" or "the account – most common gift to women of every large fashion store".[447] Satirical press interpreted the economic exploitation of the Balkans as a market for West European manufactured goods through the lens

443 "Srećna nova godina" *Brka*, 3.1.1885, p. 1
444 "Blizko bŭdŭshte" *Smyah i sŭlzi*, 22.8.1898, p. 3
445 "Nobl dama" *Bič*, 25.6.1889, p. 3
446 Fear of foreignness and the weakening of the national male body had an influence on the regulation of sex work as well, as is discussed below. For caricatures of Austria-Hungary as a rapacious woman, see: "Vesela braća" *Brka*, 3.2.1885, p. 1, "Useđelica", *Brka*, 17.3.1885, p. 47, "U slozi je spas – Istok istočnim narodima" *Brka*, 21.4.1885, p. 68
447 "Nov rechnik", *Smyah i sûlzi*, 8.8.1898, p. 3, 15.8.1898, p. 3, see also 11.7.1898, p. 2

of gender, constructing a fictive national past endangered by “modernity.”

Anxieties over the “modern woman” took place within a fierce public debate over the “woman question” in Balkan nation-states. While female activists participated greatly in national movements particularly through cultural and educational efforts, after independence from the Ottomans their public role was expected to diminish.[448] This was a particularly acute issue for female teachers, whose economic independence embodied anxieties over the wider role of women in society.[449] In the second half of the nineteenth century, bourgeois and socialist feminist organizations emerged in response through the struggle to abolish legal inequality and obtain women's right to vote.[450]

The linking of socio-economic transformation with the changing role of women in society thus took place within the context of a shifting political discourse that troubled the establishment of “separate spheres”. Women's political organizing was multifaceted, however, presenting a number of different visions, some of which justified women's participation in the public by their contribution to the nation trough education and care work.[451] In particular, some of these visions could find common ground with criticism of modernity, while emphasizing the

448 Virzhinia Paraskeva. *Bûlgarkata Prez Vûzrazhdaneto*. (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bûlgarskata Komunisticheska Partiya, 1964); Evgenia Davidova. *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States: Through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants (1780s–1890s)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013),

449 For an examination of the issues and public controversies surround female teachers in Serbia, see: Ana Stolić, “Vocation or Hobby : The Social Identity of Female Teachers in the Ninetenth Century Serbia” in *Gender Relations in South East Europe : Historical Perspectives on womanhood and manhood in 19th and 20th century*. (Beograd and Graz: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju / Institut für Geschichte der Universität, Abteilung Südosteuropäische Geschichte, 2002), 55-90.

450 Krassimira Daskalova “Women Nationalism and Nation-State in Bulgaria (1800-1940s)” in *Gender Relations in South Eastern Europe;* Neda Božinović. *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX I XX veku*, (Beograd: Feministička Devedesetčetvrta, 1996), “Zhenski vûpros I zhensko dvizhenie” in Roumen Daskalov. *Bûlgarskoto obshtestvo 1878-1939*, t. 2 (Sofia: IK Gutenberg, 2005)

451 In Bulgaria, debates between bourgeois and socialist feminists resulted a break between the two after 1903. For more, “Krehki loyalnosti: bûlgarskoto zhensko dvizhenie mezhdu natsionalizûm, socializûm i feminizûm” in *Zheni, pol i modernizatsiya v Bûlgariya 1878-1944* (Sofia: SU Kliment Ohridski, 2012), pp. 169-287, also Daskalov. *Bûlgarskoto obshtestvo 1878-1939*, t. 2, pp. 319-320

social relevance of reproductive labor.

In bourgeois “women's periodicals”, such as Sofia's *Fashion and Homemaking* [Moda i domakinstvo], and Belgrade's *Bazar,* the consumption of commodities and the transcendence of class was continuously tied to success in the performance of gendered labor. “Much is said about moneyed and family aristocracy, but the aristocracy of taste and the aristocracy of morality is never mentioned.”, *Fashion and Homemaking* proclaimed.[452] It's message was clear—if one would work hard enough at it, the working self would be transformed and work itself would cease.

What *Fashion and Homemaking* advertised was the potentiality of leisure bound up precisely in the proper performance of work. Even the title font of the paper featured a woman in a moment of rest, reading a book, dressed in a fine gown, bracelet, pearls and a tiara-like hairpiece, surrounded by flowers. The periodical consisted of much less text than its other contemporaries, featuring large cut-outs of Parisian and Viennese fashion, recipes, advice on home economics, hygiene and decoration, as well as brief discussions on morality and style.[453] Opposed to these were large depictions of women (and occasionally, children) in spaces of leisure and wealth.[454] Often shown wearing the featured clothing items (the cut-outs of which were also sold by the paper), women and children were shown in front of large wrought-iron staircases, mansions, in spaces of nature, playing cricket or strolling on the beach. Sofiaites could sew their outfits imitating Parisian styles using Swedish “Primus” sewing machines, which paradoxically advised to “watch out for imitations.”[455] Their ads feature a group of women with

452 “Aforizmi” *Moda i domakinstvo*, 15.5.1897, p. 7
453 On the sale of cut-outs, see 15.5.1897, *p. 8* for examples of how moments of leisure were depicted: 1.8.1897, p. 1, 1.9.1897, p. 2, 15.10.1897, p. 3-4 For a similar advice-column in Belgrade, see *Bazar,* 16.3.1883, p. 63
454 See Illustration 1
455 *Vecherna poshta,* 4.1.1906, p. 4

long black hair gazing wishfully at the company logo with a star, symbolizing the promise of efficiency in reproductive work. Through proper sewing, cooking, and proper homemaking, class could be transcended, implied such papers. If one sewed hard enough, work could then finally stop.

Illustration 21: Fashionable attire and a leisurely life were advertised by *Fashion and Homemaking,* which published cut-out designs of the dresses it displayed. The paper's business model was based on a promise that readers could transcend their class, either through conspicuous consumption or (more often) the proper performance of domestic work.

The ubiquity of the moneyed economy permeated popular discourses of gender. *The Spark* [Žiža], a Pančevo newspaper that also circulated in Belgrade, spoke of the commodification of marriage in the city: "When two marry out of love, they become husband and wife; when it is out of necessity, they become spouses; when it is out of rationality and account, they become gentleman and madam."[456] In a full-page image entitled "The Contemporary", *The Moustachioed Man* also critiqued the youth of the day. Depicted are a fancily dressed couple. A man (in a suit and bowler hat) and a woman (in a dress and hat with a large ribbon) flirt in the park, revealing to each other their secret desire – for men to wear a tag at all times showing their debts, and women their dowry.[457] Through such imagery, popular newspapers of the period voiced their criticism of modern gender relations – that intimacy, like other things, had become enveloped in financial interests. Ultimately, such claims devalued intimate labor by purposefully excluding it from the ongoing process of commodification. Unlike other forms of work, reproductive labor could not find social validation through the exchange of commodities, even as it produced social use values for others. Ridiculed for wanting to be valued, intimacy was refused total commodification, for such ideas revealed the impossibility of a society in which all interactions were waged. In what other context could a joke exist in which a husband responds to his wife's kisses by asking which of her bills he needed to pay?[458]

Masculinity And Desire

In late May 1833, Belgrade tailor Toma Stojković was beaten with a cane 25 times. He "was found with whores many times, lived with whores, gave them his property, and for this

456 "Žena, supruga i gospoja", *Žiža*, 20.12.1871, p. 21 The terms, "gospodin and gospoja" can be translated differently, as "sir and madam", "gentleman and lady", "monsiuer and madamme". All hold the connotation of urban civilization.
457 "Suvremeno" *Brka*, 3.3.1893, p. 4
458 "Razumeo je", *Brka*, 21.7.1885, p. 118

with his wife had eternal disagreement and despised her"[459] Toma was caught at the house of Katarina/Nesibe, a sex worker convert to Christianity who kept her Muslim name as well.[460] Under command of the city governor, he was arrested and beaten the following day.

Toma was a "naughty man", according to his neighbors.[461] They called him "selamsuz", Turkish for someone who does not greet others, an antisocial man who "doesn't live in love with anybody". Stojković beat his wife Hristina so fiercely that the courts ordered their divorce in 1829, in spite of her purported wish to reconcile. Toma hated married life – he constantly saw errors in his wife's ways, wanted to sell his house and move out, and found her to be "disobedient, and not keeping the house clean."[462] Hristina fought back in various ways. She reported him for beating her, at one point coming "bloodied and bruised" in front of the Belgrade court. When things got bad, she moved to the house of Stana the widow, which caused even more disapproval of her husband. In response to Toma's brazen promiscuity, Hristina also maintained an affair with his former journeyman, Stevan Hristić. In spite of her infidelity, Hristina's respected status among her neighbors meant that the court first awarded her alimony for their two living children, and then half of her husband's property. The "diligent and hardworking" Hristina was to keep their house, while Toma was ordered to move out.

Who was Nesibe/Katarina, the other woman mentioned in Toma's police record? She owned fanciful things - silk robes, colorful pillows, English scarves, and an Indian robe.[463] She rented her home (which she shared with her mother) directly from one of the Ottoman

459 Protokol Beogradskog suda, No. 374, br. 575 published in Branko Peruničić, *Beogradski sud 1819-1839* (Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 1964)
460 The court protocol refers to her using both names. It is interesting to note that her two names might be related, Katerina ("pure", from the Greek *katharos*) and Nesibe ("proper, noble" from the Arabic *Naseebah*).
461 Rešenije No 27, 11.2.1829 published in Peruničić, *Beogradski sud…*, br. 429
462 Ibid, 428
463 AS. KK V, br. 71 reproduced in Peruničić 1830-1912, p. 58

administrators (reiz) living in the fortress. Kata/Nesibe had so much political clout, that when a military official had taken some of the above-mentioned possessions from her, she pressed the fortress vizier and Prince Miloš' office both to organize their return. Certainly a sex worker, she was also a woman with considerable economic power, who knew how to navigate between Ottoman and Serbian administrations. In the documents, the authorities refer to her with respect as *bula*, and never *rospija*, a term for an outcast woman or a prostitute.[464]

Contrary to Nesibe/Katarina, Toma Stojković was not man whose actions commanded respect. In the narrative of his wife, fellow tailors and neighborhood, Toma was in fact, a bad man. He beat his wife too much, "not how wives are beaten, but with enmity (*dušmanski*) – with his feet, arms and with a log of wood".[465] He wanted to sell off his property, cared not for the welfare of his household and brought "fornicators" home in front of his wife. As an urban resident of the early nineteenth century Balkans, Toma represented the opposite of model masculinity. He was no *domaćin*, but a *raspikuća*, a man who tears his house apart.[466]

Before the large transformations of the mid-nineteenth century, elite manliness in the Balkan city was based upon the skillful and harmonious management of the household and respected membership in the neighborhood community. An ideal *domaćin* was not promiscuous, didn't spend his money conspicuously, was amicable to his neighbors, did not treat his wife like a sworn enemy (although did use physical violence, unlike in rural settings). Urban institutions put the reproductive and social interests of the immediate community above the will of the *pater*

464 The term *bula* can mean woman, auntie or a friend's wife in Turkish. In Serbo-Croatian, it has multiple meanings, but all command respect – an Islamic teacher, a married or Muslim woman, what an apprentice calls his master's wife. *Orospu* (Turkish) or *rospija* (Serbo-Croatian) means prostitute and social outcast. See Abdulah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*. (Sarajevo: "Svetlost" Izdavačko Preduzeće, 1966), p. 153, 536

465 Ibid, 429

466 In the first half of the nineteenth century, being a *raspikuća* was sufficient grounds for divorce. Prpa et al, *Živeti u Beogradu*, vol. 3

familias. Urban life was defined by participation in communal organizations, from the management of governance through neighborhood notables (*kmets/muhtars*) to the participation of guilds in the affairs of urban institutions**.** It is for violating these basic tenets of social order that Toma the "*selamsuz"* was beaten, four years after he had already been divorced.

For fin-de-siecle Balkan urbanites, things were very different. The city was not seen as an expression of harmonious collectivity, but as a site of male sexual adventure, a place to seek pleasure, fulfillment and individual success. Mastery over other actors on a purportedly free social stage reflected the ideology of political economic organization in bourgeois society. A man's skill was in his ability to conquer, to break the supposed norms of morality and succeed.

In Aleko Konstantinov's satire of the rising merchant bourgeois, *Bay Ganyo*, the titular character is an archetype of Balkanism, a rose oil trader who is insufficiently Europeanized. Dirty, smelly, dark in the face, he uses Turkish words and is not intimate to the code of conduct governing the harassment of working women. In constant referential need to justify himself, Ganyo discusses his inability to properly distinguish female actors in urban space:

> "Here, you cannot understand which one is the servant-girl, which the mistress, all sleek, all dressed cleanly. One gets in front of you smiling so cuddly, you think, she's a servant, you grab her, get yourself trouble on the head; another comes up, pretty, calm, you think, huh that's the mistress, you get up to your feet, invite her to sit, she is ashamed – of course! - you talk politics to her, later, you see her cleaning your boots!"[467]

As Ganyo observes a woman on the street, he learns to ask for clarification from his host: "*A be*, you tell me, how do you recognize them, which one is of that type, which is not?" As will be discussed later, such anxieties over classifying working women according to purported sexual

467 Slovo.bg "Bay Ganyo na gosti" Accessed July 12, 2016. http://www.slovo.bg/showwork.php3?AuID=169&WorkID=4681&Level=3

availability informed institutional fears over “secret prostitution”. For many bourgeois men, sexual availability and erotic pleasure were based on the exploitation of economic differences.

Extraordinarily illustrative of this experience is the personal history of Nikola Krstić (1829-1902), a mid-century lawyer, politician and professor.[468] Over the span of eleven years, Krstić painstakingly and in great detail recorded his many sexual assaults, extramarital affairs, and visits to sex workers in Belgrade and several other cities. As a rising member in the ranks of Belgrade's bourgeoisie, the lawyer was part of what Timothy Gilfoyle has called “sporting men's culture”, expressing sexual desure through the logic of commercial exchange.[469] Even for Krstić, exchange was never separate from institutions of violence. His visits to street and brothel sex workers were part of a wider culture of bourgeois masculinity which privileged access to working-class women's bodies.

Krstić, as well as many Belgraders and Sofiaites, employed socio-economic privilege in order to harass, assault, and rape women. While for New Yorkers, unbridled male desire was seen as a “challenge to bourgeois values”, in Balkan urban life, it emerged as a natural component of social transformation. Exploiting urban dispossession and poverty marked the boundaries of fascination for male dominance. Krstić often visited abandoned Muslim houses in Dorćol to have sex with women who squatted there.[470] In his diary, he notes the ruined state of a

468 Krstić was born on 23.9/5.10 1829 in Habsburg Vacz.He was the son of a minister,a student at the Szentendere Serb school, who went on to study philosophy at the Tekelianum in Budapest. He participates in Serb nationalist movements in 1848, supporting patriarch Josiv Rajačić. After attaining a degree in law, he moves to Belgrade in 1853 to teach as a professor of the Liceum there. He remained a professor until 1862, when he was named chief of the police section at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He moved to the Appelate Court (Kasacioni sud) three years later, serving as its head between 1875-1884. His last years were spent at the State Council, from where he retired in 1894.

469 Gilfoyle, 98

470 Nikola Krstić. “Memoari - Privatan život 1865-1870,” n.d. 7196. ASANU. 8.5.1868 (p. 207), 5.6.1868 (p. 209), 12.7.1868. (p. 213), 16.10.1868. (p. 226), 26.11.1868 (230), 11.5.1870 (296), 14.5.1870 (296), 16.5.1870. (297).

house, next to the qualification of his enjoyment.[471] Taking his out-of-town friends for a stroll around the city, he is excited to discover a place where "there are girls":

> "… on Tuesday, May 28th, I walked down the streets where the Turks used to live; and I saw some girl. She told me to come to her tomorrow during the day .... Yesterday I went for a walk again; I met her, but it went bad. She is young, from Kraguj[evac], says she doesn't have a father. When the people from Subotica came here, I took them down Dorćol, and there we entered another Turkish house, and there that time on Sunday I found that there are girls."[472]

As mentioned in the first chapter, Krstić was recruited by state officials to analyze the sale of Muslim homes during restitution talks with the Ottoman government. A University professor from the Habsburg lands, he was well-integrated into the circles of Belgrade's technical experts. He was friends with Emilijan Josimović, the author of the city's first comprehensive urban plan.[473] Krstić also became the proprietor of several buildings (both residential and shopping) in the old town core, auctioned off in the late 1860s.[474] Spaces of national advancement, profit-making and erotic entertainment blended in Krstić's psychogeography of nineteenth-century Belgrade.

The key role of economic disparity is clear in many of his writings. As a landlord visiting one of his properties, he found the wife of his renter home alone, and used her handshake as pretense for kissing her cheek and mouth, against her protestations.[475] Krstić's worldview required the simultaneous acknowledgment of class differences, and an insistence that they didn't matter. The fantasy of an interaction of free individuals was essential to this conceptualization.[476]

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471 "In my return home, I came across a house which was buttressed from all sides. With Mil. And M. I went in to see the house. I enjoyed myself sweetly.. " 26.11.1868 (230)

472 5.6.1868 (p. 209)

473 Krstić hired him to make a tombstone for his dead friend, and discussed literary critique with the engineer. 24.1.1863, (p. 14)

474 On his bidding and purchases, see: 19.10.1868. (p. 226), 4.11.1868. (228), 16.5.1869 (p. 252),

475 10.10.1866, (p. 111)

476 Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract.* 1 edition. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988)

Thus, Krstić takes the politeness of his renter's protests as an invitation for more, obscuring the relation of power he has over her as landlord. After kissing and feeling up a worker at a hat-maker's, who "did not fight back that hard, nor get so angry", he gets upset that the hat he brought to the store won't be fixed.[477] During his visit to Prague, he approaches Josefina, a washerwoman "who didn't have anything on her, which is usually on women that sell themselves"[478], and is excited by the encounter tremendously. After describing her body, he continues with his analysis:

> The girl is in the prime of her youth, and already knows all the ways that lead to wickedness. That is poverty, which produces this abnormal state. It is a lower class girl, and naivete, and childhood, *that is what a man must love about her*.[479]

Melodramatic and paternalist readings of urban poverty were a key part of Krstić's fantasy. In his description of a follow-up encounter, however, Josefina's words embed within that fantasy a countering voice. She was the daughter of a village schoolteacher and a washerwoman mother, who had two sisters and had gone into habitual sex work. Josefina had wanted to buy a new dress her mother couldn't afford. She added that her sister had a lover, but that "she didn't need that, because there is no use [*vajda*, also meaning profit] from a lover"[480].

Josefina presaged Alexandra Kollontai's assessment which linked women's sexual labor in the family with the waged labor of sex workers.[481] Like Zorka Panićeva, however, Josefina did not see the act itself as more debasing than having a boyfriend. The alternative, provision of sex without *vajda,* without anything material in return, seemed less appealing in a world in which

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477 27.6.1863 (p. 88)
478 5.10.1865 (l. 62)
479 Emphasis mine.
480 6.10.1865 (l. 62)
481 Kollontai, Alexandra, 1977 [1921], "Prostitution and Ways of Fighting It", www.marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1921/prostitution.htm

dresses (and everything else) cost money.

The world of free transactions between equals was fundamentally constitutive of the "sporting men's" fantasy of the Balkan cityscape. For Krstić, poverty magically linked with moral downfall in ways that allowed him to frame the purchase of sexual services as a type of salvation.[482] If there were social ills in the city of sexual delight, the origin of such suffering must be thus in an immutable, trans-historical social illness – poverty – and only by proceeding on the course of free transactions could such a hurdle be overcome.

In that vein, an 1894 pulp novel, "Diary of a criminal" (*Dnevnikŭt na edna prestŭpnitsa*) tells a cautionary tale: a poor Sofiaite girl who makes wrong choices, becomes involved with a military captain, gets pregnant, commits infanticide and turns to a life of prostitution. The introductory scene, in which the protagonist meets her lover, takes place in Sofia's central Sv. Kral church, whose renovation by the city's Christian elites I discuss in the second chapter. The unnamed protagonist of the novel notes with surprise how guards prevented some rich folk from entering the church, making space for the poor to attend the service: "We understood that there was a command to clear out the society; it can be seen that that was necessary so there would be *equality*."[483]

Narratives which linked the evils of poverty with poor choice-making emerged in popular literature, medical tracts and in personal narratives, obscuring the structures of violence that shaped working women's lives. The denigration of sex work and profound levels of economic inequality made possible bourgeois visions of masculinity based on commercialized intimacy.

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482 Noting after a paid encounter with a seamstress: "The things that the poor do...Indeed, if I had money, I would go to houses like this and would help the poor, to get out of the mud in which it is because of poverty more than naughtiness." 11.1.1867 (l. 127)

483 Emphasis original. Unknown. *Dnevnikût na edna prestûpnitsa*. (Plovdiv: Tûrgovska pechatnitsa, 1894), p. 7

They also made possible the management and increased levels of exploitation of women's reproductive labor (including sex work) on all levels of society. These structures shaped the commercialization of sex and the making of cities as centers of pleasure.

Spaces Of Erotic Entertainment

That the city was seen as a space of sexual adventure is clear from popular urban songs of the second half of the 19th century.[484] Some songs offer a variation on the traditional Ottoman trope of a beloved or desired symbolized by a bird singing in the courtyard. The protagonist is charmed by a woman singing by the window:

> "Whose is that fence,
> whose is that door,
> and whose that honey,
> chirping through the window?
>
> Mom's is the fence,
> Dad's the door,
> And mine that honey
> Chirping through the window.

The fundamental difference between the song of the beloved and the popular tune is in the last verse, in which the protagonist breaks open the physical obstacles symbolizing the nuclear family, and assaults the woman singing at the window:

> I will jump over the fence,
> I will break open the door,
> I will kiss that honey,
> chirping at the window."[485]

Novels drew similar links between space and pleasure. Konstantinov's 1894 "To Chicago and back" (*Do Chikago i nazad*) pays gendered attention to urban form, while attributing

484 "Rukopisni Zbornik Građanske Poezije," Date unknown (mid-19th century). ASANU, 14735/2, p. 15
485 Ibid, p. 109

"civilizing" work to the technics of its making. As a travel narrative to the Chicago World Fair, "To Chicago and back" first introduces the character that would grow to be Bay Ganyo and consistently compares urban spaces to position Bulgaria on a global map of civilization. Konstantinov presents streets of "civilized" cities like New York and Vienna in the form of beautiful women:

> However, I admit, New York's Brodway [sic] gave me by far the strongest impression. [Vienna's] Ring-strasse is a [feminine] beauty sculpted from marble; Brodway [sic] is a dear, eternally dancing ballerina dressed in rainbow stripes[486]

Cafe-chantants and variety parlors ("Tingel-tangel") complemented the urban landscape with non-metaphorical women dancing in brightly colored clothes. In contemporary discourse, such spaces signaled continuity with an earlier tradition of the Ottoman tavern/coffeehouse (*meyhane/kahvehane*) as a semi-legal masculine space.[487] As urban institutions, Ottoman taverns fragmented narratives of class, sexuality and religion. They were multi-religious spaces which served alcohol to Muslims or were even owned by them, where political and social narratives were performed by storytellers (*meddâh*), and places of gender-bending where dancing boys (*köçek/kyuchek/čoček*) performed as objects of male sexual desire.[488] While taverns became increasingly limited by state surveillance and repression, new spaces of erotic entertainment were seen to belong in a similar category.[489] Thus, as official names changed (*cafe-chantant,*

486 Aleko Konstantinov. *Do Chikago i nazad – pûtni belezhki.* (Sofia: Pridvorna Pechatnitsa B. Shimachek, 1894), p. 31

487 Selma Akyazici Özkoçak, "Coffeehouses: Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul" *Journal of Urban History*, 33, no. 06 (2007): 965-986

488 On the gradual transformation and disappearance of *köçeks* from the realm of public entertainment from the nineteenth century onwards, see: Anthony Shay, "The Male Dancer in the Middle East and Central Asia," *Dance Research Journal* vol. 38, no. 1/2 (2006): 137-38; Stavros Stavrou Karayanni, *Dancing Fear and Desire: Race, Sexuality, and Imperial Politics in Middle Eastern Dance* (Waterloo, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004); Danielle van Dobben, "Dancing Modernity: Gender, Sexuality and the State in the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic" (Thesis, University of Arizona, 2008)

489 For more on the regulation of taverns, see: Miloš Jovanović, "Obuzdavanje Kafana: Društveni Prostor I Državna Regulacija U Beogradu U XIX Veku [Taming the Tavern: Social Space and Government Regulation in 19th Century Belgrade]." *Godišnjak Za Društvenu Istoriju – Annual of Social History* 3 (2009): 57–68.

tingel-tangel, varieté), documents and memoirs continued to use old terms (*mehana, kafana, kûrchma)*. The forms of performance which took place in cafe chantants, however, affirmed class, heteronormativity, and the male gaze. The chance to observe sexualized women's bodies from Western Europe affirmed not only belonging to the civilized family of nations, but also assuaged anxieties over Balkan backwardness. As members of Belgrade's Singing Society described the atmosphere of Sofia's "Odessa" hotel:

> We entered the tavern [*kafana*] full of smoke… [it] was full of people… here and there sat the singers of this 'salon' together with the guests, whited-up, powdered and with decolletage, and loudly chatted sometimes in French, sometimes German, and sometimes – even – Bulgarian![490]

Fascinated upon seeing Miss S., a singer and sex worker that had previously worked in Belgrade, the visitors struck up a conversations with her. While the text itself is highly disparaging of S, it reveals the various types of work that went into her urban entertainment: "She shouted, whispered, laughed, making herself '*interessant*'! …"[491] After all that, she would go to sing and perform, the latter unobserved by the authors who left to go to another variety place.

In pulp literature, spaces of erotic entertainment were similarly represented as quintessentially urban pleasures. Vuk M's *Kiss, but kill the unfaithful! - A novel of city life* ("Ljubi, al' neveru ubi!"), an 1892 novel taking place in Belgrade, features two generations of bourgeois men who seek pleasures from tavern singers.[492] Masquerading as a moral lesson in exploiting the poor, the novel assumes the male gaze in offering tantalizing descriptions of women walking in the street, or singers and entertainers in all the "lower nooks and

490 Dragomir Brzak. *Sa Avale Na Bosfor - Putne Beleške Sa Pohoda Beogradskog Pevačkog Društva U Aprilu 1895. God.* (Beograd: Štamparija Dragoljuba Milosavljevića, 1897), 29
491 Ibid, 30
492 Vuk M.... *Ljubi Al' Neveru Ubi! - Roman Iz Varoškog života*. (Beograd: Štamparija S. Horovica, 1892)

neighborhoods" of the city.[493] In an evening show, the protagonist, Pera, observes the racy outfit of the Romanian singer, Cecilija, including "lacy panties", and a "short skirt … of a thin matter and tight, so you could well recognize the curves of the legs". Cecilija's performance is further described:

> "She came and began a Wallachian tune, quite nice and pleasant. At that, swaying here and there, throwing herself and flirting, she turned to Pera's table. Seeing Pera, she stood by him, singing, throwing kisses"[494]

As Pera sits at the table with the Cecilija and a Maricika, a co-worker of hers, alcohol begins to flow. As other men enter, they note that he is "like in paradise!".[495] Making paradise meant performing the intimate. Cecilija "drank half and spilled half to the floor. Then she came close to Pera, looking into his eyes. Her eyes were provoking."[496] Producing a female gaze of purported desire was the *modus operandi* of chantant work. As an entertainer, Cecilija "watched him with desire, her eyes lit up, her face would blush, and she would bread more rapidly".[497] She "would often drown him in an embrace", "kissed and melted in love and embraces", until "Pera already came to the climax."[498]

Commercial spaces of erotic entertainment were frequently restricted in urban regulation, yet there were no serious endeavors to eradicate the practice. During the mayorship of Dimitŭr Petkov, waitresses and cashiers in businesses open to the public were banned from sitting between the visitors, a practice that was common in the "Odessa".[499] Petkov's Europeanization of Sofia was remembered by contemporaries to have included the closing of hotels and taverns, as

493 Ibid, 19, 29, 59, 99, 125, 141
494 Ibid, 98
495 Ibid, 101
496 Ibid, 100
497 Ibid, 102
498 Ibid, 103
499 Zheko Popov, 71

Illustration 22: The Dardaneli tavern, Theater Square, Belgrade. 1901
Taverns were predominantly masculine spaces, where alcohol, tobacco and food consumption was frequently combined with erotic performance.

well as the conversion of cafe chantants into brothels. Such places clearly persevered, however, sometimes by changing their names from chantants (*shantanite*) to varieties (*varieteta*).[500] By 1900, dr. Bogomil Beron assessed that there were around 25 cafe-chantants in Sofia, with "so-called waitresses … they are drop-ins for secret prostitution."[501] His expose to the Women's Association "Labor" (*Trud*) in 1910 also contains some information on the method of operation of cafe-chantants, similar to that described by the Serbian guests.

While the attitudes of Beron and other medical professionals towards sex work will be explored later in this chapter, it is important to disentangle his perspective on the immorality of

500 "Sofiyskite varieteta – shantani" *Sofiyski novini*, 29.10.1906, p. 3

501 Bogumil V. Beron, *Izlozhenie ne detelnostûta na Bryukselskata konferentsiya za profilaktsiyata na sifilisa I venericheskite bolesti I raport za tyahnoto sûstoyanie v Bûlgariya I vûrhy vûzmoznhite za ogranichavaneto im merki* (Sofia: Dûrzhavna pechatnitsa, 1900), p. 28

such alcoholic spaces from their day-to-day functioning. My goal is, in following a wide tradition of contemporary ethnographies of sex work is to approach this complex entanglement of intimate, care and service work from the perspective of the worker themselves.[502] In Beron's reports, a process is described in which women working in cafe-chantants "coerced" men into drinking more spirits, which were then sold more expensively there than elsewhere.[503] The performers were paid a percentage per each drink, which ranged from 10 stotinki for a bottle of beer, to 2 leva for a bottle of cognac. It is in this context that we should understand the complex series of acts by Ms. S (and her co-workers) to "make herself *interessant."* Cecilia, Maricika and Ms. S performed a complex, but specific set of actions meant not only to produce desire, but also masculinity in its scopophilic form.[504] Physical intimacy was never the only service offered in spaces of erotic entertainment. As the "San Stefano" cafe chantant advertised in 1899, they were "singers, violinists, fleutists, guitarists and otherwise."[505]

Cafe chantant, burlesque and variety singers, while often engaging in sex work, used the notion of fair payment for services in order to turn scopophilia to their advantage. Often, such attempts were circumscribed by larger social structures of violence. In April of 1909, the front pages of Belgrade dailies wrote of a "bloody love tragedy" between Justina Ludwig Wladimirska, a Polish cafe-chantant singer, and Ali Sami Bey, the second secretary of the Ottoman embassy. Justina worked in Bulevar, a variety, operetta and dance hall owned by Đorđe Pašona, a wealthy Aromanian merchant from Macedonia. Bulevar was "where all of Belgrade

502 Melissa Hope, Ditmore Antonia, and Levy Alys, *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power, and Intimacy in the Sex Industry*. (London and New York: Zed Books, 2010)
503 Bogumil V. Beron. *Prostitutsiyata v Bûlgariya*. (Sofia: Pechatnitsa 'Liberalniy Klub', 1910), p. 14
504 An informal way in which the scopophilic model of urban space was overturned was through the emergence of the 'honeypot' con scheme, one of a series of criminal strategies that are discussed in Chapter Four.
505 *Nov istochen telegraf*, 9,12.1899, p. 1

came together", a popular nightlife destination that catered to the wealthier.[506] The establishment was also the site of several scenes in *Kiss, but kill the unfaithful!*, including the encounter with Cecilia. It was there that Justina met Sami Bey, sometime in 1907. He had come to see her "sing beautifully, well costumed, and of a beautiful appearance as well."[507] The story fascinated the papers – not only was this "love between a fiery Easterner and the trepid Pole", but it was full of intrigue.[508] Justina soon became Sami Bey's mistress, but requested not only money for support, but also a promissory note for 5000 dinars in case they should split up. Sami Bey was smitten, and the two were said to have been married in a secret ceremony in Vranje. Yet, when family and professional pressures pushed the diplomat to break things off, Justina decided to cash in on his financial promises. She had been planning to use the capital to open her own variety theater. With the help of his colleagues at the embassy. Sami Bey and Justina began the financial negotiations of their break-up, traveling to a hotel in the nearby Habsburg town of Zemun.[509] That night, Sami was found dead and Justina severely wounded in their room. Having survived the encounter, she accused the man of attempting to kill her in anger over their financial situation. Justina was a woman who navigated the world of Ottoman diplomacy, Habsburg police and Serbian nightlife with skill, in ways that mesmerized the Belgrade press.

506 Branislav Nušić, "Beogradske kafane" in *Sabrana dela Branislava Nušića*, vol. XXII (Beograd: Geca Kon, 1935)
507 "Krvava ljubavna tragedija", *Pravda*, 27.4.1904, p. 1
508 Ibid
509 "Krvava ljubavna tragedija" *Pravda*, 24.8.1909, p. 2

Illustration 23:
Justina Ludwig Wladimirska in
her performance attire, 1909.

Fantasies of urban beauty, scopophilia, and economic dominance shaped spaces of erotic entertainment and men's behavior. Increasing needs to categorize women according to their class status and supposed sexual availability also shaped ideas of refinement and civilization. Through commercial performance, scenarios of the erotic became more uniform, increasingly tied to abstract sets of bodily actions. Performed by women both in and out of taverns, dance parlors and variety shows, such actions reproduced a heteronormative vision of society that was predicated on the distributed nature of gendered and economic violence. As many urban men saw it, "girls are commodities, and we are 'merchant consumers', who buy those commodities first hand" noted Pera in *Kiss, but kill the unfaithful!*[510] For women like Justina and Ms. S, however, spaces of erotic entertainment offered not only an income, but a chance to subvert the omnipresent scopophilia of the city. Under the increasing pressure of the medical-carceral apparatus, such opportunities remained rare and highly precarious.

Medicalization Of Prostitution

The increasing development of medicalized discourse regarding sex work represented one of the ways in which the ability to perform intimate labor was enclosed. As the very existence of Bogomil Beron's report highlights, sex work in particular, and women's lives in general were increasingly surveilled and regulated during the late nineteenth century. With the exception of the military and the prison, men's bodies were never subjected to the same levels of physical invasion and social marginalization. From the 1870s onwards, the medicalization of sex work and its positioning in relation to social ills and other pathologies established new disciplinary regimes that went beyond the body of the sex worker. In its universe were bound not only notions of gender and what kind of "women's work" was appropriate, but also the

510 Vuk M. *Ljubi, al' neveru ubi!*, p. 121

ideological structures that shaped the transformation of urban space. Like with street regulation, municipal authorities employed the language of public safety and progress in order to establish an exploitative regime that devalued service and intimate labor, making it more precarious.

Perhaps the clearest example of the ways in which the male gaze, medical discourse, and structures of control were bound together remains in the sphere of advice literature. Written for young men looking for pleasure, the Sofia doctor Y. V. Lyubenov advised assuming the perspective of a medical professional in encounters with sex workers. His booklet, “Syphilis and venereal diseases in general” (*Sifilis i vuobshte venericheskite bolesti*), advised not to “go to a woman” without a careful examination of a her body. One should check for “wounds in the mouth, throat, and elsewhere”, “wounds, ulcers and signs of healed sores around her childbearing organs”, “stickiness”, “white or yellowish discharge”, noting that “too much wetness of the uterine canal [vagina] .. is not a sign of health”[511] One should take all the precautions possible, Lyubenov noted, because “often per chance even the most experienced doctor in his examinations is tricked, let alone a young passionate inexperienced [man], who in such moments pays little attention to such things.“ The doctor called for popularizing medical knowledge for the purpose of (male) public health, creating structures of distributed surveillance over the female body.

Categorizing women's bodies as sources of disease meant that relationships between sex workers and clients increasingly involved state officials and medical professionals. New regimes of public health introduced unprecedented levels of surveillance over women's bodies. They also added new costs to performing sex work as mandatory exams pushed down the price of intimate

511 Lyubenov, 27

labor. The medical-carceral apparatus, which surveilled women's bodies and imprisoned those who would not subject, also made it more costly to work independently. Medical surveillance was part of a wider set of urban institutions that were instrumental in other forms of dispossession in the two capitals. Discourses of public safety had played a crucial role in the categorization and tear-down of 'unhealthy' Ottoman town cores, which roused the fantasy and padded the bank accounts of of men like Nikola Krstić. Concerns over health and 'clean' water supplies also justified infrastructural developments that bound the interests such local elites with West European factory owners and international financiers. Combined, these discourses made possible the city of erotic entertainment, in which sex workers found their work devalued, managed by others, and increasingly mediated through state actors.

In Serbia, the criminalization and regulation of sex work emerged directly from the medicalization of the prostitute as carrier of disease. In the Penal Code of 1860, Article 365 criminalizes “fornication as a trade (*zanat*)” in the same paragraph as the willful transmission of venereal disease.[512] After 1871, a government edict legalized the existence of brothels, using the justification of regular health examinations.[513] Ten years later, a new Sanitary Law and Rulebook for the Regulation of Prostitution clarified the role of state officials in surveilling the bodies of sex workers. Finally, an updated set of rules in 1900 expanded sanitary police surveillance onto suspicious women “living as maids, cooks, cashiers, subcashiers, or renters.”[514] In Bulgaria's national capital of Sofia, a red light district was first established during the Russian military

512 Kazneni (Kriminalni) zakonik za Knjaževstvo Srbiju od 1860. godine, *Zbirka zakona Kraljevine Srbije II – Kazneni zakonik i krivični sudski postupak*, (Beograd: Geca Kon, 1911)

513 *Radulović*, 171

514 Ibid, 172, See also: Vladimir Kuhajda, “Pravno regulisanje prostitucije”, *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, Vol. 9 (1975): 83-93

Illustration 24: The cover of dr. M. K. Savićević's *Javne žene* [Public women], published in Belgrade in 1909). The caption to the right reads: "They teach us life at the point when life has already passed." Purporting to be a scientific treatise on the historical roots and contemporary consequences of prostitution, the sexualized image and accompanying text reflect the common self-perception of bourgeois medical professionals as benevolent managers of women's sexuality.

occupation (1878-9) by the city's commander, Captain Paul.[515] In the 1880s, the Sofia city council started a special section of its sanitary division for the purpose of examining sex workers, later adding the function of "surveyor of public women" in 1886.[516] The following year, policemen in the capital were required to monitor for "public women", unlicensed singers, and dancers in taverns.[517] In 1893, Sofia adopted a Rulebook for Brothels and Prostitutes. Combined with these urban prescripts was state-wide regulation, particularly in relation to the 1904 Law for

515 DAS 12.6.1878. f. 1k op. 4 a.e. 630, l. 1-3
516 For a more detailed overview, see Daskalova, *Zheni, pol i modernizatsiya*, 456-460
517 Hr. Basmadzhiev. *Instruktsii za dûlzhnostite na chlenovete pri stolichnata politsiya.* (Sofia: Bûlgarska narodna pechatnitsa, 1887), p. 12

the Preservation of Public Health.[518] In both countries, medical professionals saw themselves at the forefront of defining the legal framework under which sex work should operate, writing elaborate policy suggestions.[519]

Sex workers were not idle bystanders to this changing process. Rather, they had recourse in law when they were literate and familiar with regulations. Even in those cases, the weight of medical knowledge, the stigma of sex work, and the very real threat of police violence pushed back with force. In August 1883, Sofiaite sex worker Yulka Miyatovich petitioned the city government asking for her registration book back after being misdiagnosed by dr. Lyubomir Zolotovich.[520] The doctor asked to sequester her to the hospital for treatment, which "is not lawful, but is plotting, since the Sir Doctor is angry with our Boss Mite Nikolov" she said. Yulka then added testimonies from two other doctors, Shishmanov and Roa, which confirmed that she was healthy. Unlike many other sex worker petitions, which made use of a scribe, she had likely written the letter herself – the handwriting of her signature and the text match.

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518 Daskalov. *Bûlgarskoto obshtestvo*, vol. 2, 335

519 Milutin Miljković. *Belo roblje – sociološko-kriminalna* rasprava (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1901), Vojislav Kujundžić *Prostitucija u Beogradu I obavezna predohrana od polnih bolesti* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1905), M.K. Savićević. *Javne žene (prostitutke)* u prošlosti, sadašnjosti I budućnosti I njihov uticaj na širenje veneričnih bolesti. (Beograd: Štampa Naumovića I Stefanovića, 1909); Bogomil Beron. *Prostitutsiyata v Bûlgariya*. (Sofia, 1910), Teodosiy Vitanov. *Po vûprosa za prostitutsiyata I publichnite domove* (Sofia, 1910). To this should also be added Stiliyan Kutinchev's *Prostitutsiyata – socialno zlo. Sociologichen etyud.* (Sofia: Izdanie na sp. "Biblioteka", 1905-6), as well as tracts on venereal diseases by dr. Y. P. Lyubenov. *Sifilis I vûobshte venericheskite bolesti* (Sofia: Dûrzhavna pechatnitsa, 1881); Unknown, *Lekar po zhenski I venericheski bolesti*, trans. Stoyan Mitov (Sofia: Pechatnitsa Svetlina, 1898) well as the 1900 translation by the socialist Bonyo Lungov of Paul Hirsch, *Verbrechen und Prostitution als soziale Krankheitserscheinungen, von Paul Hirsch.* (Berlin: Vorwärts, 1897), published as P. Hirsh. *Prestûpleniyata I prostitutsiyata kato obshtestveni bolesti* (Sofia: Knigoizdatelstvo Znanie, 1900)

520 DAS 1883. f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 634. DAS. On Zolotovich: Lyubomir Dimitriev Zolotovich (Istanbul, 29.1.1857 - ?) was a doctor and diplomat. Born in a Stambolite Bulgarian merchant family, he studied at the French Lyceum on the island of Chalki and joined his brother Georgi in studying medicine at Montpellier, from where he graduated in 1879. He worked there as a pediatric assistant for a year, before moving to Sofia to work at the Aleksandrovska hospital in 1880. He was the chief doctor at Aleksandrovska and the head of the City Sanitary Service between 1882 and 1895. He contributed to medical journals "Meditsinski pregled" and "Meditsinski sbornik." Zlotovich ended his professional career as a diplomat in Paris between 1900 and 1908.

The accused doctor quickly responded to the threat emerging from Miyatovich's claim. He stated that the woman suffered from vaginitis (a vaginal infection), “from which one can easily get blennorrhagia and urethitis”. His letter outlines the discourses of patriarchal violence that were inherent in the medicalization of sex work. Zolotovich first counters Miyatovich by reminding the reader of his privileged position that enabled access to women's bodies. He reminds the reader then of the necessity of his service for public health, requiring “the greatest strictness”. “Responsibility is great, for the consequences of even one carelessness”, he added. The doctor refused to “lower himself” to respond to the accusations of colluding with the brothel owner, vowed to continue examining sex workers “with the greatest mercilessness”, and pleaded with the city authorities to protect the authority of city doctors. Zolotovich ended the letter with: “The question here is between a city doctor and a public woman; I have not the least doubt that you will justify the strictness with which I deal with the fulfillment of this part of my service.”[521]

As some doctors argued, venereal diseases were brought to Bulgarian society with the advent of urbanization.[522] “And Sofia, our capital of today, which until a few years ago I believe did not even know how to say syphilis...” wrote Dr. Y. Lyubenov in 1881. “It is regretful that our rural people, uniquely left with its healthy body, today begins to become diseased,” he added. While Bogomil Beron's surveys showed that the Bulgarian countryside had higher rates of tertiary syphilis, the stresses of urban life remained connected with the transmission of syphilis. “Agitation of the mind, grief, fear and other mental unsettledness bring to the public secret syphilis”, Lyubenov noted. Other advice literature of the period also cautioned against mental agitation. Stoyan Mitov's translation of unknown origin, the “Treatment book of women's and

521 Ibid, l. 2
522 Lyubenov, 7

venereal diseases," advised readers never to have sex when they are "tired, angry, drunk or upset", and that in "today's promiscuous times, you could be harmed even in a family situation, let alone in cases where the love of sex is sold for money"[523] Written in the intimate second person, Mitov advised his readers moderation: "It is never good to make sexual love twice one after the other. You will get no fame, but that is a huge stupidity, not allowable for a smart man and honest worker."

The analyses of doctors were a significant influence on municipal regulations, where medical discourse permeated city council discussions. In these conversations, the sex worker's body was cast out of the realm of state care and framed as a vector of disease. The spatial manipulation, dismemberment and reconstitution of official sites of commercial sex work was thus formed largely through the worldview of disease theory.

In late 1903, for example, brothels in Belgrade were found to be too close to one another by the city council.[524] A commission was made to determine how they should be redistributed, and subsequently a list was sent to the minister of interior, with a tentative move-out date of November 1905.[525] However, only a few weeks later, the council and the commission rejected the minister's decisions. Moving brothels was seen to have the effects of spreading the disease of sex work: "the placing of prostitute stores in all quarters of Belgrade is of harmful influence not only for public morality, but also for the health of Belgrade's citizens", concluded the councilmen.[526] The council-members justified their decision by the constitutional mandate for municipal government to care for the public health of its citizens. Their actions, however, constituted an

523 Mitov, 3
524 Beogradske opštinske novine, 18.1.1904, p. 1
525 Beogradske opštinske novine, 9.5.1904, p. 2
526 Beogradske opštinske novine, 23.5.1904, p. 1

urban public which excluded sex workers and all those who were suspected of sex work, yet included their employers.[527]

Fears of the spread of disease and the necessity of better medical surveillance were employed to highlight the dangers of migrant and working-class women. Such ideas could map anxieties over women's reluctance to perform reproductive labor and attempts to avoid doing so. Tasa J. Milenković, the founder of scientific policing in Serbia, combined in his writings for the Police Journal (*Policijski glasnik*) fears of immigration, women's refusal to perform reproductive labor, and national death. „Belgrade's daughters, future mothers“ endangered national virility, as they „babble some French, learn piano and forget Serbian customs. Truthfully, it is harder for them to get married, but at least they can receive – a foreigner...“[528] As we have seen already in the writings of Sofiaite Dr. Lyubenov, medical experts mapped foreignness as a carrier of syphilis. Milenković would expand this category to include female abortionists and their male helpers, Roma, Jews, and economic migrants.[529]

In Milenković's analysis, it was women employed in service work who carried disease and had most potential to sabotage the bourgeois order.[530] “The doctors must have made their examination superficially”, he writes of Erža, a female servant he accuses of intentionally spreading syphilis to her masters' children out of spite.[531] It was these “[r]otten servant-women, left without any supervision” that taught children to masturbate, and then brought “lesbian love, to which some of our girls give themselves as well”. The “rotten West”, offered sex for pleasure,

527 As late as 1911, brothel owners could receive certificates for good behavior from the city government, which facilitated transition into other forms of business. Beogradske opštinske novine, 3.7.1911, p. 166

528 To receive (*primati*) in Serbian has the implication of penetration. “Naša deca”, *Policijski glasnik*, 7.11.1898, p. 359

529 *Policijski glasnik*, 14.11.1898, p. 367, 21.11.1898, p. 375, 28.11.1898, p. 383-4, 5.12.1898, p. 391

530 *Policijski glasnik*, 21.11.1898, p. 375

531 Ibid. Erža is short for Erzsebet, a Hungarian name, implying that the servant was foreign as well.

challenged male supremacy, and endangered reproduction. “As it is not unknown, it is fashionable to use even artificial limbs [dildos] for pleasure”, Milenković added in shock.[532]

The writing of Tasa Milenković illustrates how contagion and public health were operationalized to alleviate anxieties over a potential rupture in the dominant mode of social organization. It was clear to him that relegating reproductive and intimate labor to women was foundational to the nation itself. While his writings often fell into the dramatic and sensational, they reveal how the fear of “diseased” subjects infecting the social order shaped policy decisions. The prospect of a new society in which women learned languages and did not bear children, in which servants corrupted and diseased their masters' progeny, in which the penis could be replaced by an artificial limb, haunted doctors' examinations.

In the formation of social institutions, the politics of sexuality, control, and labor intersected. Police raids and new technologies of subjugation were made possible through the scientific method - doctors, police photographers, and laboratory technicians were all part of a wider project to transform urban society. Like the work of planners and engineers, theirs was a utopian project to remake society through the city.

The cost of their visions was striking. In 1897 alone, three hundred boys and two hundred girls were arrested in Belgrade for vagrancy, theft and fornication.[533] Thousands of women were registered by authorities, their bodies subjected to inspection and violation from doctors.[534] Sex

532 Ibid

533 *Policijski glasnik*, 19.12.1898, p. 409 The arrests were also highly gendered – if unemployed young men were regularly arrested for vagrancy, women were arrested for fornication. For more on arrest procedures and practices, see Chapter Four.

534 In Belgrade, Savićević's statistics registers 1304 women subjected to mandatory medical examination, registration and treatment at the General State Hospital between 1898 and 1907. Considering that many examinations took place in police detention (as seen below) and that mandatory treatment took place in private facilities, the number is most likely much higher. Savićević, 95, 96-7 In Sofia during 1896, there were 9020 exams in 95 brothels, according to Bogomil Beron. Beron, *Izlozhenie*, p. 32

workers were also forced to pay for medical inspections. In Sofia, where the price of sex ranged from 3 to 30 lv, the cost of an examination was between 1 and 4½ lv.[535] Between two mandatory exams per week and paying the boss, many sex workers would have had to take an additional 8-16 clients a month just to account for their medical fees. Medical surveillance devalued their work and helped increase their exploitation, as booklets and other technologies of state surveillance made it more difficult to work without a boss.

The goal of the medical professional, cloaked in the language of public health and morality, was a social body in which women's economic actions were mediated by expertise and propriety. Such a social totality, based on widely dispersed techniques to devalue waged and unwaged labor was at the heart of doctors' desires. To achieve such visions, distinguishing between those who could contribute to the nation's reproduction, and those who endangered it was a crucial task.

Secret Prostitution

In the late nineteenth century, conversations over the regulation of sex work increasingly became haunted by the figure of the “secret prostitute”. In simple terms, she was an unlicensed sex worker, yet the notion held multiple meanings. The necessity of eradicating “secret prostitution” enabled the expansion of surveillance and police repression to encompass the social whole. Likewise, it linked anxieties over the existence of working-class women in the city with the pathologization of sex workers.

Testimonies of “secret prostitutes” who were arrested and brought for forcible medical examination by the police show the porous line between service, domestic, and sex work.

535 Prices listed in Beron, *Izlozhenie*

Darinka Bogdanović, a 20-year old single mother, testified that she had come “a few days ago from Požarevac to seek service”. With “no income and an illegitimate child of 7 months”, she pleaded not to be punished. Brought in by constable, Darinka was deemed to have “healthy sexual organs” by the district doctor and still given two days in prison.[536]

Women found on the street at night were routinely apprehended for “fornication”.[537] When a doctor would find them to be “diseased”, they were either sent for forcible treatment or banished to their place of origin. Such decision were often made on the base of a whim from the district commander.[538] While the discovery of a sexually-transmitted illness automatically confirmed police suspicion of “prostitution”, reasons for arrest and the application of punishment remained arbitrary. The conjunction of rigid, medical forms of subjectivization and the arbitrariness of police action made the economic and social position of working women even more unstable.

Commercialized intimacy remained a mostly precarious, working-class occupation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In 1900, dr. M. K Savićević gathered statistics from 50 women undergoing treatment at the General State Hospital in Belgrade. Nineteen came from peasant families and fifteen from working-class occupations.[539] Their own history prior to being registered as sex workers suggests that as almost all had been involved in reproductive work.[540] They were young as well – in cases where a registered sex worker was treated at the hospital,

536 V. Pavlićević. “Izjava Darinke Bogdanović,” July 9, 1901. UGB k. 3022 f. V br. 231. IAB.

537 For example, Katica Vojanić, arrested for “walking around at night and dragging about with boys”. 23 Apr 1874, IAB, UGB. 1873, l. 1517, br. 368

538 See for example the cases of Marija Stajić and Katarina Schreiner, where the two women were banished to Austria-Hungary against the doctor's recommendation that they be treated for sexually-transmitted diseases. Stevan Kovačević. “Izjava Marije Stajić I Katarine Šrajner,” July 24, 1901. UGB k. 3022 f. V br. 312. IAB.

539 Savićević, 85-6

540 24 had predominantly performed waged reproductive labor (servants, seamstresses, cooks), 14 were unwaged (at home, “with a husband”, or “housewife”), and five said they were factory workers.

1127 out of 1304 were between the ages of 17 and 24.[541] In agreement with Savićević's records are various petitions from Sofiaite sex workers, who show that "prostitution" was rarely a life-time occupation.[542] At times, escaping to do sex work was seen as a solution to an unhappy marriage, supported or even organized by family members.[543] Sex work was one of the strategies employed by working-class and migrant women to establish themselves in the city.

Licensed sex workers and women accused of selling sex fought against the proleterization of sex work in various ways. Far from pawns in hands of traffickers, as the emerging discourse of "white slavery" argued, migrant sex workers took every opportunity to establish their independence. In 1899 Belgrade, Görtruda Pejić, a 20-year old who worked in the brothel owned by Đoka Kusturić, protested her working conditions. "Unable to withstand life the way it is in his store, I am leaving his place", she wrote. Pejić's petition also challenges narratives of liberation from sex work, and return home, common in contemporary narratives. Pejić could have requested to go back to Zemun, where she had grown up, or Timişoara, where she was born. Rather, she requested permission to travel beyond, to Vranje. As a literate woman, she utilized the legal system available to her to fulfill her own desires of movement. Sofia's Maria Roza, who worked in the brothel of Pavlina Iovanovich, used the war-time demand for nurses during the 1885 Serbo-Bulgarian War to volunteer for the Red Cross, and ultimately transfer to the brothel of her bosses competitor, Sarina Goldenberg.[544] In the neighboring brothel of Maria Rancheva, Katica Gert, Lina Petrovska and Ana Tomash utilized the same technique.[545]

541 Savićević, 94-5
542 DAS 1883. f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 642 l. 12; DAS 1883. f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 642 l. 7; DAS n.d. f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 647 l. 9; DAS 1883 f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 642 l. 10; DAS 1885 f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 647 l. 4.
543 DAS 1885. f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 647 l. 20; This case is also notable for a different reason, as it involves the marriage of a Muslim woman to a Christian man.
544 DAS 1885. f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 644 l. 5.
545 DAS 1885 f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 644 l. 8; DAS 1885 f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 644 l. 7; DAS 1885 f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 644 l. 6

Other women used knowledge of the law to rebuke accusations of unlicensed sex work. Mara Stefanović responded to a nightwatchman's accusation of prostitution in her apartment by highlighting that the officer "never names precisely the persons male and female, who meet at my place, nor determines the time of day and night this took place." She further states in her letter that: "The report of this police official as given cannot have evidentiary force according to article 35 of the Police Edict, because it is not known on direct knowledge, but hearsay and because there are above-named circumstances which bring it into doubt. This is my response on the matter."[546] The precinct was forced by this letter to release Mara from detention.[547]

The medical gaze persevered in linking streets and the domestic sphere, as female servants working in the homes of the more affluent were increasingly targeted by forced examinations. In 1885, near the end of his appointed term, Sofia's Dr. Zolotovich pushed the city police to make a list of women practicing secret prostitution, even petitioning the minister of internal affairs, Nikola Suknarov, to intervene and increase police repression.[548]

Medical professionals participated eagerly in the expansion of forcible examination towards all working women. In 1901, Belgrade's Marija Simić and Danica Marjanović, two servants, were arrested for strolling in the evening next to a man (his name is unknown as he was not detained). Both girls were held in prison for the night, and examined in the common cell by Dr. V. Kujundžić. His writings reveal the invasive nature of exams conducted in detention: "[A]nd I have found a suspicious secretion in her urethra and vagina" wrote the doctor of Danica, the 15-yr old detainee.[549] Not finding evidence of a venereal infection, the doctor

546 IAB UGB 1911 k. 3054 f. VII br. 92. IAB, l. 1
547 Ibid, l. 2
548 DAS 1885 f 1K op. 4 a.e. 647 l. 28
549 Pisar Jovan Perunić. "Starešini Kvarta Teraziskog," August 4, 1901. UGB k. 3022 f. V br. 372. IAB.

remained unsatisfied – he requested further examinations, “and possibly treatment” at the hospital. The desire to subject through surveillance and management of the girls' bodies shaped the doctor's worldview. “The greatest danger to our society, and firstly to our youth,” he wrote, “comes from private prostitutes, because law cannot ban them, and on the other hand, legal prescriptions watch them too loosely...”[550]

For Kujundžić, the threat of secret prostitution was the inability to regulate and control how women supported themselves. “[E]very woman, whether a cook, a renter, or a married woman, who using her body feeds and supports herself and her own, is a public woman…” he noted.[551] Kujundžić's logic highlights the real spectrum of anxiety of the medical-disciplinary apparatus in its relationship to waged labor. A woman who “using her body feeds and supports herself” was dangerous, because she signaled sustenance independent of existing mechanisms of social ordering. Charging for sex could mean wrestling some control over one's role in the reproduction of society. Sex workers pushed at the nominal boundaries of patriarchy, by charging for intimate work that was expected and unwaged in marriage. In a world in which labor achieved its social validation through commodification, selling intimacy made clear its social value.[552]

Kujundžić however, proceeds to offer a solution: “… and according to such evidence she

550 Kujundžić, *Prostitucija.…*, 25-6
551 Kujundžić, *Prostitucija.…*, 26
552 I employ here Michael Heinrich's reading of Marx and the concept of “social validation” to think about value not as something that emerges from production, but rather from the social validation of expended labor, which happens in circulation. In that sense, value can be understood only through the entire social totality, and not as a feature of the workplace itself. See: Michael Heinrich, *An introduction to the three volumes of Karl Marx's* Capital, trans. A. Locascio. (New York: Monthly Review Press., 2012), 50-52 and also Frederick H. Pitts. “Follow the money? Value theory and social inquiry: The politics of worker inquiry” *Ephemera*, 14, No. 3 (2014), 335-356. Similar points have been raised by Titthi Bhattacharya in relation to extra-workplace struggle in “How Not To Skip Class: Social Reproduction of Labor and the Global Working Class” *Viewpoint* (Oct 31, 2015) URL: https://viewpointmag.com/2015/10/31/how-not-to-skip-class-social-reproduction-of-labor-and-the-global-working-class/

should unconditionally be submitted to a medical examination and given an identification document"[553] The actions of medical professionals, policemen, municipal officials and clients made the selling of sexual intimacy a precarious and dangerous occupation. "Secret prostitution" was nothing but a circumvention of such an apparatus of social control. Unlicensed and habitual performances of sex work elicited panic because they made techniques of subjugation more difficult. While ostensibly concerned with public health, city doctors' writings in fact consistently elaborated on the belief that sex work could upset the basic fabric of society. "Even if it is outside of [social] order, we can differentiate two types of private prostitutes: one kind is aware of her filthy craft and runs into the dark and into the side streets, while the other, hiding behind her former voice and reputation, appears in all, and even the highest circles," Kujundžić wrote.[554]

The ability to distinguish women by class and sexual availability that troubled Bay Ganyo was a key concern of municipal officials as well. In an 1883 report by the Sofia Controller of Brothels, K. Georgiev, lamented his inability to know which woman was a prostitute. "[A]side from the public women which can be found in their own private quarters there are others who in no way appear to be like this, but appear as washerwomen and others" he wrote, adding that he "has a suspicion" that they are known somehow because "all kinds of people go to their homes, and there are or sorts of scandals there, but because I do not have the permission to enter into private residences, for this reason I am sending this report..."[555]

Many soldiers, police, and nightwatchmen were indeed "in the know", and were interrogated by their superiors after contracting a sexually transmitted infection. Their records

553 Kujundžić, *Prostitucija.…*, p. 26
554 Kujundžić, *Prostitucija...*, p. 33
555 DAS 1883. 1K op. 4 a.e. 639 ll 1.

reveal the ways in which transactions were arranged, attitudes towards the workers, and the indifference of power that shaped the criminalization of sex work. The danger of getting caught meant that transactions were often initiated through intermediaries. A nightwatchman would start by asking a cafe owner “if there was anything to mash”, and would then be told “here in the courtyard there was a good girl named Mica coming from Smederevo”.[556] Instead of a woman working in a courtyard dwelling like Mica, they might also have gone to maid working in an inn or tavern.[557] Judging from the nonexistent reaction of the cafe-owner, the fact that an official had been soliciting was no cause for alarm.

Following the drive to eradicate “secret prostitution”, the threat of arbitrary police abuse made independent sex work a less-likely endeavor. Spiro Hristov, Sofia's Surveillor of Public Houses, asked brothel owners to purchase him mink coats, surrender the booklets of indentured workers, and provide bribes.[558] As he held on to booklets, he facilitated the transfer of workers from one brothel to another, with the power to arrest or detain those without books as unlicensed. The ability to arrest working women suspected of unlicensed sex work also enabled police abuse, as in the case of Milija Minić, an undercover gendarme.[559] Milija was a client of Peladija Panić, a 23-year old widow who had come to Belgrade from Valjevo and worked as a maid in the London Inn. According to Peladija, the man solicited her, and after being provided sex, rebuked her request for money by stating: “What is that you want, for me to pay you by any chance? Do you know I'm a detective from City Hall?”[560] His threats fell on savvy ears – Peladija reacted swiftly, calling the doorman up to help her detain Milija. After a brawl, the man wound up being taken

556 IAB UGB 1905 k. 2186 br. 15
557 Ibid, IAB UGB 1911 k. 3054 f. VII br. 301. IAB.
558 DAS 1897 f 1K op. 4 a.e. 648
559 IAB UGB 1911 k. 3054 f. VII br. 301 l. 1-2
560 Ibid, l. 3

into custody by another policeman. Milija was a troublemaker, yet it was the fact that Peladija could rely on someone (and possibly share her income with them) that made her work safer.

The social dispersal of new forms of gendered control meant that the logic of surveillance worked through unofficial channels as well. Anonymous petitions could easily incriminate women, extending the medicalized language of disease to the social body.[561] "I ask you, Mr. Mayor, to take charge and remove from our neighborhood the public woman diseased by chancre (as she does not go even to the doctor to be examined)." asks one such petition in 1885 Sofia.[562] The petitioner highlights his role in the new social order by signing his name as "a citizen" (*grazhdanin*), attaching a civic, urban ethos to the monitoring of bodies and the maintenance of social order.[563] Certainly, such modes of thought replicated the logic of state actions, but also ideas of responsibility found in advice literature such as the above-mentioned booklet of Dr. Lyubenov.

While Lyubenov's advice was meant to save individual young men, the civic ethos helped attach the literature of National Revival to the idea of surveillance of the national body. Our citizen begins his letter with a folksy line which is an almost word-for-word quote of Lyuben Karavelov's *Maminoto detentse,* a classic critique of Christian elites in Ottoman Bulgaria: "A mangy goat should be removed from the flock, because it will spread contagion to it."[564] Paraphrasing a folk proverb, the line already refers to a social ill in Karavelov's novella,

561 See for example, IAB. UGB 1873 k. 1517, br. 364, Various. DAS 1878 f. 1к op. 4 a.e. 630; DAS 1885 f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 646

562 DAS f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 647. l. 27

563 For a greater examination of the *grazhdanski/građanski* term, see introduction

564 Ibid, Slovo.bg "III - Mamino detentse" Accessed July 13, 2016. http://www.slovo.bg/showwork.php3?AuID=179&WorkID=5758&Level=2 The sentence is slightly paraphrased in the petitioner's letter. The Karavelov original is: "A mangy goat should be removed from the flock, because her mange can very easily shift to other goats"

condemning the actions of a spoiled, drunkard son of wealthy parents. In this particular case, the logic of contagion shattered with the police's inability to identify the source of social corruption. As the precinct manager reported a month later: “there are several families living [in the house], and one cannot know which woman in particular is a secret prostitute.”[565]

Residents laid their claim to possess such knowledge on the basis of social friction, rather than medical examinations or police surveillance. In 1887, Draga Kostić petitioned the police to banish Tilka Lukič from Belgrade, a divorcee seamstress who was “to the core a lewd and rotten female” and the lover of Draga's husband.[566] For her case against Tilka, Draga had asked for the help of Tilka's housemates Anđelko and Katarina Nešić, both shoemakers. The Nešićs had claimed that Tilka was doing sex work on the side, which they ascertained from the fact that she was a divorcee who received Draga's husband for 15-45min visits with the blinds closed.[567] The husband, Nikola, was a 42-yr old tailor, who employed Tilka to work on dresses for his shop. Interrogated by the police, he ultimately admitted that Tilka was a “fornicator … who led him on so he could have sinful intercourse with her”, at times encouraging him to divorce his wife. Trying to remove himself from trouble, Nikola asked for the police to banish Lukič from the city.

Tilka was likely looking to improve her material conditions by sleeping with her boss, rather than engaging in professional sex work. She described herself in no uncertain terms as “a seamstress by trade”, who was abandoned by a sick husband. Her husband had come from the Ottoman territories (to which he returned to seek treatment), while Tilka had come from Austria-Hungary. To help support her mother, father and brother, she had done piecework for Nikola's

565 DAS 1885 f 1K op. 4 a.e. 647. l. 44
566 She qualifies Lukić's mother as the principal abettor. IAB UGB 1887 k. 2980 f. VI br. 13 l. 1
567 Ibid, l. 4.

shop, making smaller items which Nikola would later incorporate into the dresses he sold. It was only a month after her initial questioning that Lukič confessed to having “amorous relations” with Draga's husband, who had stopped coming to her.[568] In order to preempt a possible banishment for prostitution, she claimed to be leaving the city anyway to visit family in her village.[569]

The tenuous and arbitrary line between sex and other forms of work seen in Tilka's case rarely determined the circumstances under which intimacy was performed, or how it was valued. Rather, as data from Bogomil Beron's interviews shows, differing levels of control over one's work process shaped the economic conditions of intimate labor. Beron gives the example of an old chambermaid in a Sofia hotel, who received monthly wages of 10lv, but would be required to pay around 6lv per month for heat in the room provided to her.[570] In order to satisfy the payment and her food costs, clients for the chambermaid were procured by the hotel's proprietor.

There is no reason to assume that such arrangements were universal, however. As testified by the case of Belgrade's Peladija Panić, some female workers entered in arrangements on a case to case basis, with the assistance of other working staff. Others had relied on more permanent clients, who would schedule hotel rooms on purpose in order to see particular chambermaids.[571] In spaces of erotic entertainment, workers also sold alcohol, coffee, tobacco, and provided rooms for spending the night.[572] Workers would often sell such items, supplementing their income with the sale of sexual services.[573] These examples highlight the

568 IAB UGB 1887 k. 2980 f. VI br. 13 l. 6. IAB.
569 Ibid
570 Food costs were assessed by Beron to be around 30lv/month. Bogumil V Beron. *Prostitutsiyata v Bûlgariya,* 12
571 IAB UGB 1905 k. 2186 br. 13. IAB, l. 1
572 IAB UGB 1900 k. 2126 br. 232 (1900). IAB UGB 1892 k. 2066 f. VIII br. 114 t. br. 6. l. 1
573 IAB UGB 1899 k. 3022 f. V br. 165. IAB.

wide range of circumstances under which sex was sold, constructing spaces of commercialized intimacy. In Sofia, brothel owners needed to petition the city government to keep their businesses open after midnight, in order compete with the music and dancing in surrounding taverns.[574] Taking care of a client's sensual needs went beyond paying for the use of someone's body, but rather involved, in the words of *Kiss, but kill the unfaithful!,* the making of "heaven". The performance of sexual or erotic acts was part of an entire mechanics of care that existed as commercialized version of domesticity.

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Popular discourses of social change and urbanization, and in particular the rise of conspicuous consumption, shaped ideas of gender in the nineteenth century city. In the male bourgeois press, anxieties over the rising commodity economy were increasingly seen to be related to modern women's inability of unwillingness to perform reproductive work. Ultimately, such visions sought to define intimate labor as contribution to productive male members of society. In popular women's periodicals, ideas of the proper performance of reproductive work were tied to notions of class, and in particular fantasies of becoming bourgeois. In both cases, the relationship between intimacy, the commodity and social relations was at the heart of changing discourses about gender.

From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, bourgeois visions of masculinity and urban sophistication were increasingly based on the idea of commodified intimacy. Necessary for such visions was both the illusion of interaction between free individuals and a relationship of economic inequality. The city in particular, as a site of rapid social change, came

574 DAS 1885 f. 1K op. 4 a.e. 644 l. 1-2

to be imagined as a space of erotic pleasure. Progress, profit-making and erotic entertainment blended in bourgeois male psychogeographies of the new Balkan city. At their core was the denigration of sex work and its association with the purported moral ills of poverty. Framed as an unavoidable consequence of modernity, the performance of commodified intimacy was structured by the political economy of the city which depended on the work of domestic servants, service workers and pauperized rural migrants.

Such logics were expressed most clearly in spaces of erotic entertainment, such as vaudevilles, variety parlors, and brothels. For workers, these sites were part of a wider set of strategies for suvival. Many of these performers were migrants into the city, who tied their material existence to the commercial subversion of male scopophilia. For bourgeois men, such spaces reaffirmed wider visions of commercialized intimacy that understood urban social relations as inescapably bound by the logic of commodity exchange and material inequality. Commercial performances made uniform scenarios of the performance of the erotic, often highlighting and profiting from fantasies of economic dominance.

The conditions for sex workers were also shaped by the rise of the medical-carceral apparatus, which pathologized women selling sex as carriers of disease. Metaphors of contagion shaped the thoughts of doctors and policy-makers, creating an urban structure which devalued sex work, making it more precarious and difficult for workers to operate independently. For doctors, the development of techniq ues of surveillance offered a way to address social anxieties over the role of women in society. Their focus in particular were migrants and servants, whose status as waged reproductive workers made them ambiguous in relation to the wider national project. Sex workers struggled against these forms of control, in large part because they brought

down the cost of labor and made independent work less likely. The scientific/regulatory arm of the city authorities made sex work more precarious and formally tied the registered sex workers to brothels owners.

The most salient example of the issues surrounding sex work was the panic over “secret prostitution,” i.e. the ability by organs of the state to police women's ability to sell sex independently. Employing not only the medical/carceral apparatus, but a whole set of police actions which included surveillance, harassment and detention, “uncovering” unlicensed sex workers became a primary focus for city officials. Spearheaded by municipal authorities, the struggle against secret prostitution resulted in an expanded and dispersed system of social control, which targeted maids, domestic servants, and other working women in the city.

The urbanization of Belgrade and Sofia during the nineteenth century was tied to the production of new forms of gendered space which depended on the control and management of women's work. It was the “toil and work” of the everyday that made new urban society possible. The Balkan capitals were made in relation to a persistent struggle of women to shape themselves by shaping the world around them. As anxieties over “secret prostitution” testify, to police fully the tenuous line between sex and other forms of care work was ultimately impossible. Surveillance, harassment and state violence were thus not only daily experiences for sex workers and women accused of selling sex, but also the limits of bourgeois world-building.

CHAPTER FOUR: “NEITHER GOOD NOR SAFE SUBJECTS”

POLICING, PRISONS AND STATE VIOLENCE

> “- Mommy, why are they sowing a children's garden
> next to the Black Mosque [prison]?
> - To remind [children] to be quiet when they're small,
> or they might go in there when they grow up.”
>
> - A joke from 1906 Sofia[575]

Reflecting upon the Bertillon system, a method for identifying criminals based on anthropometric measurements, Belgrade policeman Tasa J. Milenković noted that its application was meant for arrestees and convicts, “neither good nor safe subjects”.[576] Frustrated with the perceived inadequacies of the Serbian police and penal system, Milenković investigated the latest techniques of scientific policing in Western Europe. An avid reader of Sherlock Holmes stories, he campaigned for the application of the scientific method in the maintenance of public order. His goal was the control of disobedience and disorder, which seemed to increase exponentially with the advent of urban civilization.

This chapter takes as its starting point Milenković's desire to contain and transform unruly subjects in order to examine how state violence was structured in the changing Balkan capitals. During the second half of the nineteenth century, policing and prisons were established as new social institutions in both Belgrade and Sofia. In municipal and state regulations, policing the urban population was justified in a variety of ways, which included the maintenance of public order and the protection of private property. To many contemporary observers, the Balkan capitals were hotbeds of con-artists, thieves and criminals. Their stories enchanted and terrified crime column readers, and troubled wealthy elites and municipal officials. In Milenković's

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575 *Vecherna poshta*, 28.4.1906, p. 1
576 Tasa J. Milenković, *Tasina pisma* (Beograd: Državna štamparija kraljevine Srbije, 1898), 89

words, when theft and fraud remained unpunished, they "strangled society," questioning the very structures that upheld social order.[577]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Belgrade and Sofia became spaces demarcated by new structures of state violence. The police and the prison emerged as two social institutions meant to manage and direct populations towards the goal of "good order."[578] Their purpose was the skillful management of society as an economy (*oikonomia*), imagining the nation through the metaphor of the patriarchal household.[579] As Markus Dubber has argued, this "basic mode of governance" has historically been at the center of constructing police power."[580] For merchants, lawyers, activists and state officials, police power was a way to "order and transform" the world, to reshape the base upon which their social positions rested.[581] Envisioning such possibilities through new forms of state violence was part of world-building for the nascent Balkan bourgeoisie.

During the same period, the institution of prison emerged out of a number of other punitive structures as the unique experimental space where social order could be created. Rapid industrialization haunted the visions of government officials, who sought solutions in the organization of prison labor. Imagined as a space fully circumscribed by state power, the prison

577 Ibid

578 As Mark Neocleous has argued, the 'good order' was integral to the original mandate of the police. Far beyond its limits to the management of crime, policing has historically been one of the pillars of the art of governing. Mark Neocleous. *The Fabrication of Social Order: A Critical Theory of Police Power* (London: Pluto Press, 2000)

579 Recently, Germano Maifreda has argued for the links between classical political economy, and the early modern concepts of *oikonomia* and "the police", a mode of governing based on the management of laborers, artisans and mechants. Germano Maifreda. *From Oikonomia to Political Economy* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 173-180

580 Markus D. Dubber. "The New Police Science and the Police Power Model of the Criminal Process" in *The New Police Science: The Police Power in Domestic and International Governance,* eds., Markus. D. Dubber and Mariana Valverde (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 109

581 Mark Neocleous, "Theoretical Foundations of the 'New Police Science'," in Dubber and Valverde, eds., 21

appeared as an ideal type of machine for the manipulation of bodily actions and raw material. Balkan urbanization, shaped by the desire of elites to build a national industrial economy, required the production of carceral spaces where social order could be instituted by violence.

Bourgeois visions of carceral management were often contradictory and limited, both by the scope of their ambitions and the resistance of bodies subjected to state violence. Belgraders and Sofiaites relied on workplace theft, pick-pocketing and con-artistry to challenge the prescripts of social order defended by scientific policemen. They evaded new techniques of identification through dissimulation, exploiting and subverting forms of bourgeois sociability for personal or collective gain. Those who were arrested dragged their feet in prison workshops, escaped in clandestine ways, or fought their guards. The principle of fiscal responsibility precluded attentive control of prisoners' bodies, even as officials envisioned their utilization in detail. Corruption and exploitation within prison walls fostered by demands of profitability made escape even more appealing. The frictionless management of bodies remained elusive, even as new carceral techniques were developed to contain bad and unsafe subjects.

I employ the concept of carceral space in this chapter in order explore the combined effect of policing and prisons on Balkan urban space. My purpose in studying police and prisons as a single system is to examine how its technics were developed ideologically and practically, what effect their adoption had on the social production of space, and what limits existed to their application. I seek to expand upon scholarship in the field of carceral geography, which has studied the experience of imprisonment and its spatial distribution, linking the interior and exterior of spaces of incarceration.[582] Scholars in this field have sought to problematize

582 Much of the field is informed by the work of Michel Foucault and Giorgio Agamben. For a contemporary overview of the scholarship, see: "Chapter 3 – Carceral Space" in Moran, Dominique. *Carceral Geography :*

Foucauldian models of the "carceral archipelago," by exploring how imprisoned people make their own spaces in prison environments.[583] Moving beyond the binary of social control and agency, this chapter explores state power as a shifting terrain of struggle, led on unequal terms yet limited by historical context and human action. By exploring those circumstances and acts of resistance that made visions of carceral development impossible, I seek to highlight both the fantastical basis and violent consequences of bourgeois social transformation.

I begin this chapter with a broad overview of the political and legal framework that established police forces as separate institutions in the Ottoman Empire and its successor states of Bulgaria and Serbia. I argue that institution-building was increasingly seen as a good method to manage social order, becoming closely intertwined with state-building projects. Between 1860 and 1880, the adaptation and translation of foreign penal and police regulations allowed lawyers, policemen and state officials to take part in an international project of creating state power.

In the second section, I examine the emergence, theory and application of the techniques of anthropometry, criminal photography and scientific investigation in the two Balkan capitals. Building upon previous ideas of "good social order," this form of "scientific policing" was seen by lawyers and police activists as the best defense against the perceived threat of unruly subjects. I explore how such ideas came to dominate discourses of population management, how they were juxtaposed to an imagined Ottoman past, and what techniques of state violence were

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Spaces and Practices of Incarceration. (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015)

583 See for example Rashad Shabazz's concept of counter-carceral space. Rashad Shabazz, "'Walls Turned Sideways are Bridges': Carceral Scripts and the Transformation of the Prison Space" *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 13, no. 3, (2014): 581-594; Teresa Dirsuweit, "Carceral Spaces in South Africa: A Case Study of Institutional Power, Sexuality and Transgression in a Women's Prison." *Geoforum,* 30, no. 1 (February 1999): 71–83; Bettina van Hoven and David Sibley. "'Just Duck': The Role of Vision in the Production of Prison Spaces." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 26, no. 6 (December 1, 2008): 1001–17; David Sibley and Bettina Van Hoven. "The Contamination of Personal Space: Boundary Construction in a Prison Environment." *Area* 41, no. 2 (June 1, 2009): 198–206

envisioned to produce “good and safe subjects.”

I follow my discussion of scientific policing by exploring the unorganized resistance of the urban precariat to anthropometric visions of social order. I trace how theft and dissimulation became strategies for those excluded from the project of urban transformation and those exploited by its visionaries. By focusing on urban “weapons of the weak”, I seek to unearth pragmatic forms of class struggle in the actions of criminalized people of the nineteenth century Balkan capitals.[584]

The fourth section of this chapter examines how notions of good order, progress and scientific effectiveness were translated into the Topčider Economy-Inmate Facility near Belgrade. The Topčider prison represented state ambitions to reorganize human bodies and labor in order to ignite the furnace of industrial capitalism. I examine repeated failures to establish industrial production in the Facility, as well as integrate its agricultural products into a factory built through foreign direct investment. I argue that these visions were troubled from the start, in no small part because of the frequent escapes and organized struggles of incarcerated people.

The final section of this chapter continues to explore prisoner labor through two centers of incarceration in Sofia, the Black Mosque and the Central Prison. Through an exploration of failed attempts to organize prisoner labor at the Black Mosque, I examine how state officials conceptualized incarcerated bodies as a potential industrial resource. Based on the assumption that prisoners would build the necessary infrastructure themselves, visions of a forced labor utopia were derailed by escapees and work-refusal, while attempts to maintain fiscal solvency bred corruption and increased prisoner abuse. By the first decade of the twentieth century, Sofia's

584 James C Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. (Princeton, N.J.: Yale University Press, 1987)

new Central Prison building symbolized a rejection of the prison as a model society based on forced labor, through its architecture of surveillance and isolation.

The Police As A Social Institution

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the police did not exist as a separate institution within the Ottoman Balkans. Following the *millet* system and agreements developed during earlier periods of unrest, relations between rulers and subjects were mostly mediated through community leaders.[585] This practice continued in the early years of Serbian autonomy, and in Bulgaria extended deep into the Tanzimat period. National historiography situates the creation of a modern police force within a "state-building ethos" of early nationalist projects, which in some cases dates policing as far back as the second half of the eighteenth century.[586] Such scholarship often disregards the contested nature of institution-building in the Balkans, and ignores the long history through which policing came to be the dominant form of state violence.

Alongside local armed officials attached to the city magistrate, authorities in 1830s Belgrade relied on community leaders to mediate urban governance. This often created difficulties for the Serbian administration, in part because of the impossibility to accurately locate and identify subjects. In 1839, for example, the city's Jewish community had agreed to banish nine men residing in their community for "rascally" behavior.[587] A month later, however, only five of the men were received at a police outpost near the Ottoman border.[588] As the

585 The breakdown of this order in early 19th century Serbia resulted in the killing of rural Christian notables by the Janissary corps, known as the *seča knezova*. This event precipitated the rise of the peasantry led by rural merchant leaders in the First Serbian Uprising (1804-1812).

586 Ivana Krstić-Mistridželović and Miroslav Radojičić, "Analiza propisa o radu beogradske policije iz 1831" *Bezbednost*, I, (2015): 105-120 See also Živojin L. Aleksić, *Kriminalistika U Srbiji 1793-1914*. (Beograd: Glosarijum, 1996); Stefan Simeonov, *Policiyata v Bûlgariya: politicheski pravni i upravlenski aspekti (1879-1944)*, (Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Albatros," 2003), *Organizatsiya na sluzhbite za opazvane na obshtestveniya red v Bûlgariya (1879-1991),* (Sofia: Akademiya na MVR, 2011)

587 IAB UGB 1839 k. 4 f. I br. 1. IAB., l. 1

588 Ibid, l. 2

Belgrade Magistrate noted to its border-town counterpart: “the above-mentioned banished Jews should in the future not be let back into the fatherland, considering that among them are those who have been banished three times already, and somehow they cross the border and drag themselves here anyway.”[589] Identifying and locating subjects was difficult in part because officials had to rely on verbal descriptions. When Belgrade authorities searched for an unknown wagoneer spreading anti-government sentiment while transporting rakia, they could only do so by describing his height, coloring, the shape of his cheeks, the clothes and type of fez he was wearing.[590] Until the late 1830s, the universality of law and its application was neither given nor certain, and local communities formed the only structures through which state violence could be systematically applied.

The establishment of Serbian autonomy in the 1830s legalized the *de facto* rule of Prince Miloš Obrenović over Christian Ottoman subjects. In 1831, Miloš' administration began to define the policing of “general peace and order, as well as the maintenance of a clean town” as part of the duties of the Belgrade city governor.[591] These duties remained broad, however - as described in the first chapter, they included forced resettlement in the case of the Savamala. Initially, judicial, sanitary, municipal and police tasks were managed by the single institution of the Belgrade Magistrate, which existed side-to-side with the Ottoman *qadi* courts within the city proper.

After the rise of the Constitutionalists in 1839, a series of legal regulations expanded government control from communities to individuals. Historians have situated such changes in

589 Ibid, 4
590 IAB UGB 1839 k. 4 br. 10. IAB.
591 Aleksić, 82

the wider struggle for power between the Obrenović dynasty and the merchant oligarchy dominating the Constitutionalists.[592] During their rule, policing was removed from municipal duties and became part of the state government, while Belgrade's border controls also began to be manned by state officials.[593] In 1845, autonomous communities such as the Roma stopped being subject to their leaders, and came under the jurisdiction of the Serbian state.[594] In 1850, a comprehensive police edict was adopted defining the role of a state institution for the purposes of investigation and arrest.[595] In 1860, urban governance was reorganized with the establishment of the Belgrade city administration, which included 129 police officers under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.[596] That same year, a standardized penal code was adopted, based on translations from the Prussian Civil Code.[597] Such wide-ranging legal transformations cannot be explained solely in terms of opportunistic struggle, nor are they examples of a trans-historical strive for a Serbian nation state. As early laws instituing the Ministry of Internal Affairs show, institution-building was seen as a useful tool in the management of both the national economy and social order by the Constitutionalist faction.[598] Independent structures not only curtailed Prince Miloš' autocratic tendencies, but also created the conditions in which state violence could be used as means towards social transformation.

In the social world of Bulgarian merchant elites, nation and state-building increasingly became cognates by the second half of the nineteenth century through the educational Revival

592 Ivana Krstić-Mistridželović and Miroslav Radojčić, "Beogradska varoška policija u doba uspostavljanja vlasti Ustavobranitelja" *Nauka, bezbednost, policija*, 3, (2014): 93-107
593 Aleksić, 71
594 Aleksić, 72
595 Ivana Krstić-Mistridželović, "Donošenje i značaj policijske uredbe iz 1850" *Bezbednost*, Vol. 51, No. 1-2, (2009): 414-432
596 Aleksić, p. 73
597 Knjažestvo Srbija, *Kaznitelni zakonik za knjažestvo Srbiju* (Beograd: Praviteljstvena pečatnica, 1860)
598 Knjažestvo Srbsko, *Zbornik zakona i uredaba u Knjaževini Srbiji*, vol. I (Beograd: Knjigopečatnica knjažestva srbskog, 1840), 38, 41,

process. Within the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee, policemen were members who would "execute punishment against violators of the law."[599] During the 1876 April uprising, the rebels' Oborishte Assembly articulated a more specific vision of policing for the new Bulgarian state. Unfortunately, only a second hand account of the assembly's decisions exists, which outlines a harsh and brutal vision of revolutionary policing, featuring a strict hierarchical order that justified torture and beating for the purposes of the law.[600] Regardless of the accuracy of the account, it remains clear that many Bulgarian revolutionaries saw policing as a basic social institution, meant to contribute to the creation of a new, national social order.

Ottoman officials also embarked on the project of institution-building during the Tanzimat, although their visions took place on an imperial level. While the Ottoman authorities' ambitions for centralization were shaped in part by the need to suppress national movements, they shared with the Bulgarian revolutionaries a vision of the police as a separate state institution for the management of social order across communities. During the 1840s and 50s, criminal and judicial reforms curtailed the authority of local courts, subjugating them to state-appointed councils. While many of these reforms were based on French models, they did not necessarily juxtapose Western secular institutions to Islamic ideas of order. Rather, as Avi Rubin has argued, the Ottoman state sought to adapt existing structures of imperial power for the task of socio-economic transformation.[601] Inter-religious councils had judiciary and investigative powers, which included the establishment of an independent gendarmerie.[602] Subject to military

599 Simeonov, 21

600 In 1941, Simeon Karadobrev, a police clerk from Sliven, claimed to have had access to the assembly documents found by Ottoman authorities after arresting Todor Belopitov. *Spisanie Policay*, 1941, br. 5-6, p. 130-131, cited in Simeonov, 29

601 Avi Rubin, *Ottoman Nizamiye Courts: Law and Modernity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

602 Abdülkadir Özcan, "Zaptiye," Islam Ansiklopedisi. Accessed July 20, 2016. http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/ayrmetin.php?idno=d440129

oversight, the gendarmerie was employed mostly in the countryside in order to quell brigandry and fight nationalist revolutionaries.[603]

In autonomous Bulgaria after 1878, policing was initially tied to military institutions and the quelling of disorder in the countryside as well. During the 1880s, Bulgarian officials offered proposals for the creation of an independent police force separate from the military, the formation of a gendarmerie, and special regulations to fight brigands in the east of the country. This institutional history has traditionally been divided between an initial period of Russian dominance, and a period of independent development.[604] Yet, contrary to traditional periodization, Bulgarian administrators produced a number of translated materials after 1879, which did not make sharp distinctions between Russia and Western Europe. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, Bulgarian policemen, lawyers and military officials translated and adapted various foreign police regulations. This included instructional materials such as an 1887 booklet for Sofia officers by the city's police chief Hristo Basmadzhiev. After 1889, some of these concepts were implemented in a general police law, a special law regulating policing in the capital Sofia, and the law on the formation of an anthropometric department, which all remained valid until 1925.[605] In 1894 and 1898, the military prosecutor Stefan Kraev translated and adapted St. Petersburg juridical guides into a set of pocketbooks for the Bulgarian police.[606] In

603 Nadir Özbek, "Policing the countryside: Gendarmes of the late 19th-century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908)" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 40 (2008): 47-67

604 See for example Simeonov, *Politsiyata.*…, 17-22

605 Ibid, 22

606 Hristo Basmadzhiev. *Instruktsii za dûlzhnostite na chlenovete pri stolichnata politsiya*. (Sofia: Bûlgarska narodna pechatnitsa, 1887), N. B. Muravyev. *Prakticheskо Rŭkovodstvo za politsiyata pri otkrivanie i izsledvanie prestŭpleniyata*, trans. by Stefan Kraev. (Sofia: Skoropechatnitsa na T. H. Toshev, 1894) and (Sofia: Pechatnitsa na Iv. P. Daskalov i C-ie, 1898) The Kraev texts are translations from guidebooks published in 1864 by N. V. Muravyov, a St. Petersburg judge and later Russian Minister of Justice. Although Muravyov published guides for other Russian imperial cities (Kharkiv and Kazan), Kraev's translation is of the St. Petersburg edition. *Instruktsii chinam politsii okruga S. Petersburgoy sudebnoy palaty po obnaruzheniyu I ossledovaniyu prestupleniya.* (Sankt-Petersburg, 1864)

1904, the secretary of the Sofia police, V. Nedev translated Serbian studies of the polic departments in Vienna, Berlin and London, including P. Lindenberg's study of the Paris police.[607] As in Serbia, lawyers, policemen and state officials saw the development of a modern police force as an important part of the state-building project.

The Discourse Of Scientific Policing

In 1898, Belgrade's police journal *Policijski glasnik* proudly published a photograph of its new "atelier," on an empty lot next to the town hall and central police building.[608] The city's "convicts, gamblers, and other dangerous people" were to be photographed there, the images developed and distributed to police stations to be placed in suspect books. The journal editors noted that they would also move their headquarters to the atelier later in the year. The atelier building was constructed on the foundations of the old Ottoman police headquarters, destroyed after the 1862 riots. "Underneath," the *Policijski glasnik* wrote, "remained in its entirety the historic cellar in which Turks hung their convicts, and there still remain those metal rings to which the victims were chained."[609]

Although the atelier was a cheap building made of straight boards with a tin roof, its clean lines and monochrome paint projected technology and precision.[610] The oversized sign on its top announced "Atelje" - a French loanword previously used only to describe a painter's or photographer's studio. Below stood the name of the *Policijski glasnik,* a journal championing the use of science and technology in the fight against crime. Juxtaposed to the horrors of the "Turkish yoke" was a new and just punitive regime, which sought to catalogue, understand,

607 The author of the reports on Vienna and Berlin was Tasa Milenković, whose work is discussed further below. V. Nedev. *Organizatsiya na politsiyata v glavnite evropeyski stolitsi* (Sofia: Self-published, 1904)
608 *Policijski glasnik*, 29.8.1898, p. 279
609 *Policijski glasnik*, 29.8.1898, p. 286
610 See Illustration 25

sequester and correct individuals harmful to the progress of the nation.

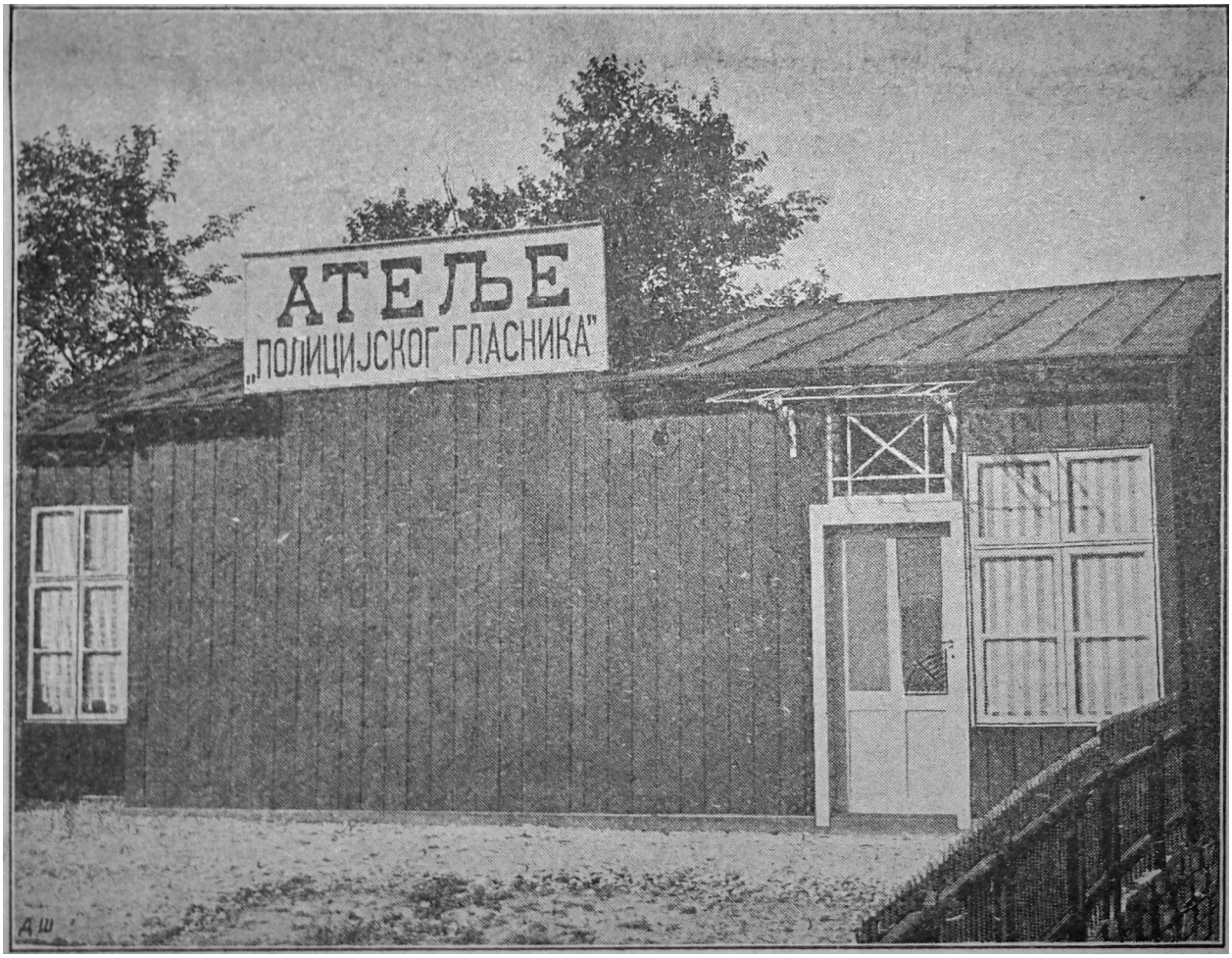


Illustration 25: The ‘atelier’ of the *Policijski glasnik*

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the police institutions of the Balkan capitals increasingly came to be shaped by the technical discourse of scientific policing. Following and adapting contemporaneous developments in Western Europe, the United States and British India, policemen, lawyers and state officials sought to develop proper techniques of investigation, identify and study the criminal body, create a uniform catalogue of data on the

national population, and discover ways to correct or dispose of criminalized people.[611] In the Balkans, scientific policing also became tied to ideas of progress and civilization, juxtaposed to an ill-defined earlier period of Oriental backwardness, whose vestiges could be eradicated only through a more aggressive application of state violence. The focus of activists and administrators was the creation of a European state institution with the potential to identify, survey, catalogue, manipulate, kill or incarcerate all subjects.

Perhaps the most illustrative example of the logic of scientific policing in the Balkans is the work of Tasa J. Milenković, a writer, lawyer and police official in turn-of-the-century Belgrade. Known as "the first Serbian learned policeman," Milenković published articles and books arguing for the application of scientific principles in investigating crime and ordering society. Born to a wealthy merchant family in 1850, he attempted to make a name for himself writing short-form fiction, but settled into a law career and held various administrative positions until the First World War.

In the 1880s, Milenković published daring literary exposes of Belgrade's criminal underworld in literary journals, a feat which garnered him attention in public circles.[612] His calls for police reform became known to the wider public through "Tasa's Letters," a set of reports on policing made to appear as correspondence from European capitals. The letters were first

611 Simon A. Cole, *Suspect Identities: A History of Fingerprinting and Criminal Identification*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); See also a number of recent studies on forensic policing and the criminal anthropology: Alison Adam, *A History of Forensic Science: British Beginnings in the Twentieth Century*. (London: Routledge, 2015); David Horn, *The Criminal Body: Lombroso and the Anatomy of Deviance*. (London: Routledge, 2015); Peter K. Manning, *The Technology of Policing: Crime Mapping, Information Technology, and the Rationality of Crime Control*. (New York: NYU Press, 2008)

612 Milenković received widespread public attention with his "Život za dinar" [Life for a dinar] published in *Porota* in 1880, followed by "Ponoć" [Midnight] and "Deca kesaroši" [Cutpurse children] published in *Srpski pravnik* in 1891. His first published work was a series of legal treatises writen during studies at Belgrade University. In 1879, he published his work of fiction, "Eškija" [Brigand] in the Viennese paper *Srpska zora*, describing the area of Niš after its take-over by the Serbian state. See: Živojin Aleksić ed., *Dnevnik Tase Milenkovića, 1850-1918 : prvog srpskog učenog policajca* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2000), p. 6

serialized in 1897 in the police journal *Policijski glasnik* and published as a collected volume the following year.[613] In them, Milenković reported on the organization of the Viennese and Berliner police forces, wrote a practical introduction to Bertillonage, and reviewed the Moabit prison in Berlin. His reports were interspersed with comments criticizing the Serbian authorities for their inability to modernize, suggesting improvements, offering solutions or examples. As a popular voice for scientific policing, Milenković channeled existing state ambitions to produce "good and safe subjects" into a concrete set of techniques to administer state violence.

Milenković juxtaposed Belgrade's "primitive, oriental order" to the European, rational form of state violence.[614] He sought to transform the very idea of policing in the city, which he deemed to be "completely different" from that of the West. Recounting the sojourn of French criminals in the Serbian capital, he believed that the foreigners must have "sweetly laughed at" the "Serbian stupid" of the city police chief.[615] On his return from Berlin, Milenković brought a "mass of edicts, instructions, and formulas" to help remedy what he believed to be archaic, Ottoman-era institutions of the Belgrade police.[616]

Milenković's mission was "the implementation of modern institutions."[617] He was mesmerized by the "colossus" of the Viennese police, a "grandiose machinery," moved by expert leadership that could rely on hierarchy and obedience.[618] "One engine moves all the wheels, the big, the middle, the small and the smallest – this all moves with one power, this all does one

613 A letter from Berlin was Tasa's first publication in the *Policijski glasnik,* printed in the inaugural issue of the journal: *Policijski glasnik*, 9.8.1897, p. 2, The serialized publications continued on: 23.8.1897, p. 17, 30.8.1897, p. 25, 13.9.1897, p. 41, 27.9.1897, p. 57, 5.10.1897, p. 65, 1.1.1898, p. 1, 10.1.1898, p. 1, 17.1.1898, p. 19, 21.2.1898, p. 59, 15.7.1898, p. 227, etc. See also: Tasa Milenković. *Tasina pisma – izdanje uredništva "Policijskog glasnika"* (Beograd: Državna štamparija kraljevine Srbije, 1898)

614 Tasa Milenković. *Tasina pisma*, p. 1

615 Ibid, 28

616 Ibid, 53

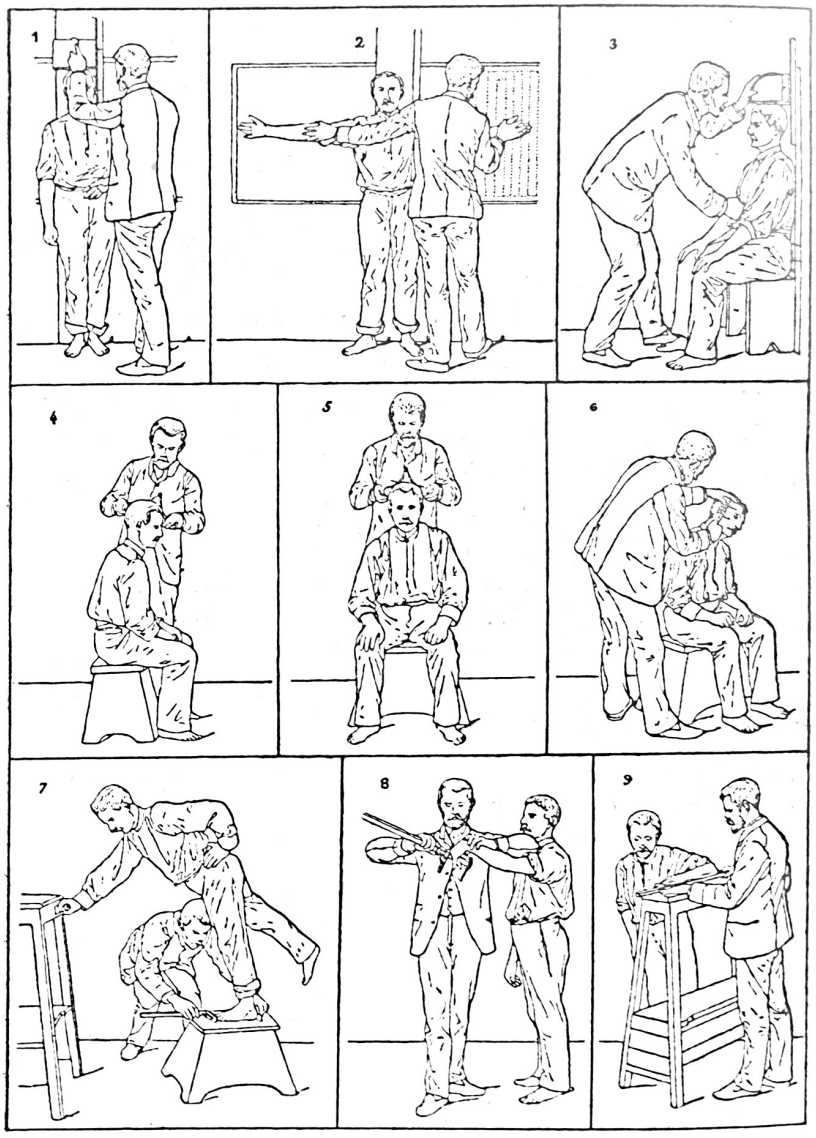
617 Ibid, p. 1

618 Ibid, p. 2

work," he noted with admiration. Milenković advocated censorship of the press, police monitoring of public life, and forced labor camps for vagrants and the unemployed,[619] He also marveled at the investigative abilities of the Viennese and Berliner police forices, describing in detail their procedure for identifying individuals and filing information on them.[620] For Milenković, the purpose of the police was to mold an unruly society into a well-oiled machine guided from the top.

His reports outlined new techniques of organized state violence, provided proposals for the internal structuring of the police, and printed sample forms to be used on arrested persons.[621] Milenković provided images of measuring devices, an annotated layout of a filing cabinet and measurement room, as well as techniques to position the bodies of suspects for the purposes of measurement.[622] In the back of the collected volume of his writings, images of incarcerated people were printed with sample descriptions.[623] Similar images were reprinted in the *Policijski glasnik,* meant to train police officers in new techniques of subjugation.

619 Ibid, pp. 5-7
620 Ibid 10-12
621 Ibid, 97-9
622 Ibid, 111-3, See Illustration 26
623 Ibid, 117-124



Мереље ио Бертиљонажу (стр, 95.): 1. дужина (висина) тела; 2. дужина преко прсију од краја једног до краја другог средњег прста; 3. висина тела седећки; 4. дужина главе; 5. ширина главе; 6. дужина десног ува; 7. дужина леве стопале; 8. дужина левог средњег прста; 9. дужина леве мишице (од лакта до краја средњег прста).

Illustration 26: A visual demonstration of the proper procedure to take anthropometric measurements, printed in *Tasina pisma* (1898). The image is a reproduction from Alphonse Bertillon's *Identification anthropométrique* published in the same year.

Although exceptional by virtue of his prolific written work and dedication, Milenković was not alone in his desires to create a scientific police department. In Belgrade and Sofia, chief city policemen Dušan Đ. Alimpić and Hristo Basmadzhiev both took an interest in modernizing police work, as did police secretary V. Nedev. As mentioned earlier, Basmadzhiev compiled a procedural guidebook for Sofia policemen, while Alimpić studied criminology and anthropometry abroad, later editing the *Policijski glasnik* journal.[624] In Bulgaria, lawyers took a keen interest in criminal psychology, anthropometry and standardized investigative practices, publishing translations and analyses in professional journals such as *Iuridicheski pregled* and *Spisanie na iuridichesko druzhestvo*.[625] By the early twentieth century, Bulgarian audiences interested in criminal science could read summaries of debates within the Italian school of criminology between Cesare Lombroso and Enrico Ferri.[626] In the same period, Bulgarian translations appeared of Niceforo Alfredo, an Italian sociologist who employed statistics to study criminal behavior and Marie-Francois Goron, a French policeman known for his scientifically-accurate crime stories.[627]

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624 Alimpić was a student of two founding figures in forensic science, Rodolphe-Archibald Reiss from the University of Lausanne and Mina Minovici, from the Institute of Legal Medicine in Bucharest. Reiss was later invited to Serbia to forensically document war crimes committed by invading troops during the First World War. He was the founder of the first Police Academy in Belgrade in 1921. See: Zdenko Levental, *Rodolphe-Archibald Reiss: criminaliste et moraliste de la Grande Guerre.* Translated by Mara Kordić. (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1992). Mina Minovici was best known internationally for confirming the theories of Cesare Lombroso on the genetic origins of criminality, through anthropometric data collected from sex workers and female convicts. His brother, Nicolae, was also forensic scientist and head of the anthropometry division of the Bucharest police.

625 "Sûvremennata sluzhba na identifikatsiyata i internatsionalniya fish" Spisanie na yuridcheskoto druzhestvo, Year VI, Vol X (1907): 227-232, "Pogled na prestûpnitsite," "Politsyskoto doznanie po nashetouglavno sûdoproizvodstvo," Nravstvenna pobûrkannost" Yuridicheski pregled, Vol. 1 (1893), "Berlinskata politsiya I vestnikarite" Yuridicheski pregled, Vol. 2, "Prestûpnostûta v sûvremennoto obshtestvo," "Vûrhu prishologiyata na tûlpata", Vol. 4, "Prestûpnoto naselenie," Vol. 5, V. Nedev,

626 Podporuchnik Todorov. *Nyakolko statii po prestûpnostta.* (Silistra: D. Ivanov, 1903). Cesare Lombroso was the founder of the Italian school of criminology, which advocated the existence of a criminal physiology. A socialist at the time, Ferri rejected the theories of his mentor Lombroso by developing a theory of criminal psychology, which he saw marked by impulsiveness associated with infants and "savages."

627 Niceforo Alfredo. *Transformatsiyata na prestûpleniyat*. (Vratsa: Tashkov I C-ie, 1906) and Mari Fransoa Goron. *Konan Doyl i nauchnata politsiya v XX vek.* (Sofia: V. Nedev, 1910) The latter is perhaps a compilation or

Although some of this material was published in the juridical journal *Branič*, the Serbian scientific policing community was centered largely around the *Policijski glasnik* journal.[628] The *Policijski glasnik* published Tasa Milenković's writing as well as other works in the genre of criminal literature.[629] Overall, the format of each issue featured a scientific and popular section, and the journal often brought the two together, offering analysis of blood spatter evidence next to Sherlock Holmes stories.[630] In 1908, its stance towards criminal fiction was clarified through an excerpt from Jean-Henri Bercher's "The Work of Conan Doyle and the scientific police of the XX century" which argued that "Conan Doyle's police novels define in some sense the modern policeman."[631] The journal's conclusions echoed Bercher's demands for the global adoption of anthropometry, dactyloscopy, technical instruction, and international police cooperation, producing a universal standard in police filing systems.[632]

Like the contributors to *Iuridicheski pregled*, the editors of *Policijski glasnik* saw themselves as part of an international network progressive policemen, publishing hundreds of translations of foreign authors and sending its editor Đorđe Alimpić to study criminology in Lyon.[633] Although the *Policijski glasnik* initially started as a private enthusiasts' journal, control over its content came under the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1901, which made it an official

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translator's mistake, as the better-known title by that name is Jean-Henri Bercher's *L'Oeuvre de Conan-Doyle et la police scientifique au XXe siècle* (A. Maloine, 1906)

628 See for example the translation of Friedrich Paul: Živ. A. L. "O identificiranju" *Branič* (1907), 107-127 For an overview of the journal, its contributors and history of publication, see: Žarko Rošulj. "Gedžin Policijski Glasnik (1897-1914)" *Zbornik matice srpske za književnost i jezik*, vol. XXXIX, No. 2 (1991): 277-286

629 Žarko Rošulj notes that many Serbian writers published in the *Policijski*, since the journal paid its authors quite handsomely. Ibid, 310-313 See also: Vojislav Ilić Mlađi. "Pošt. G. Cvijanoviću (Svetozaru)," June 17, 1913. ASANU 10863/3

630 *Policijski glasnik*, 21.1.1901, p. 13, 20.2.1905, p. 33, 20.3.1905, p. 83

631 *Policijski glasnik*, 24.2.1908, p. 61

632 Ibid, 62

633 The note identifying Alimpić as the student is by Edmond Locard, "Sŭvremennata sluzhba na identifikatsiyata I internatsionalniya fish" Translated by V. Nedev. *Spisanie na yuridicheskoto druzhestvo*, VI, no. 1 (1906): 306-314, p. 312

government publication in 1905.[634] The journal's widespread readership in police stations meant that it was the most common vehicle for the publishing of photographs which featured wanted criminals, prison escapees, as well as reports of arrests and ongoing cases. The *Policijski glasnik* and its contributors presented to government officials an elaborate technical vision of state violence, which in theory had the capacity to transform society.

In Sofia, the application of ideas of scientific policing took place through regulations, procedural books and pocketbooks, such as those written Hristo Basmadzhiev and translated by Stefan Kraev. Basmadzhiev's booklet, which was written as a guide for policemen in the Bulgarian capital, offers a picture of what kind of policing subject activists and state officials sought to create. Policemen in Sofia were instructed that one of their duties was to "detain and send to the precinct: brawlers, drunkards, beggars, those who curse and others..." They were supposed to attend every gathering in the streets or squares, and report every morning the goings on in their precinct to the chief. Knowing their precinct meant knowing "the masters of the homes, their servans, the inns and guesthouses, servants, workers and cab drivers."[635] If the policeman was to known "the most minute details of the life and behavior of persons under their supervision", they were to do so while keeping their relations to the residents "not intimate, and not to get involved in their domestic works." A true policeman, who "fully fulfilled his obligations… could not fail in achieving the full study of his precinct, in relation to the life of the residents, their crafts, their means of existence, character, and the smart assistance to all kinds of requests and studies necessary."[636]

634 *Policijski glasnik,* 19.8.1901, p. 215 and 6.2.1905, p. 16
635 Basmadzhiev. 3
636 Ibid, 4

A policeman, in effect, was to know everything, not as a participant in the community but as an external force, collecting information and remaining ready to report his findings "to whomever needed." Conversation was only allowed when useful to the service, which required a very broad array of urban knowledge – the names of streets, squares, bridges, churches, government and public buildings, the homes and workplaces of ministers, judges, doctors, the names of guesthouses, companies, merchants and industries.[637] "Through good men," the policeman was to know about "dangerous persons," to monitor cafes and shops for singers and players, card games, and "public women."[638]

If attention and knowledge was to extend to homes and public places, it was at the street where policeman's was to take action. He was to prevent "workers, porters and vagrants to discuss loudly in the streets, curse indecently and joke inappropriately." Other improprieties were also forbidden - "public women" were not to grab passers-by and cops were to interrupt any shameful words or actions. Beggars and "those walking in an inappropriate way" were to be arrested and detained in the precinct.[639] The Basmadzhiev procedure book envisioned the policeman as a manager of urban space and a creator of order in the city. Such order was to take place on the management of urban undesirables, their removal from the street and the public eye.

Even before the adoption of scientific policing measures, hygienic regulations by city councils had created new forms of disembodied power that could be operationalized against marginal populations. As discussed in the third chapter, medicalized concepts of disease and cleanliness were utilized to assault and harass sex workers and women suspected of selling sex.

637 Ibid, 11
638 Ibid, 13
639 Ibid, 14

Yet, they could also be used to harass marginalized populations, such as ethnic minorities or street vendors. In Sofia, a local policeman harassed Jewish fruit merchants by picking out and throwing away fruit he deemed to be "rotten and harmful to the health."[640] The merchants' attempts to stop the policeman were categorized as assault. The Jewish population was also targeted in Belgrade, where the administrative infraction of keeping stores open on Christian holidays could be used to muster up fines.[641] While the regulatory nature of policing affirmed Orthodox hegemony over public space, it did so through disembodied forms of violence. As the Sofia officer noted, when the nearby crowd stopped him from throwing away fruit, it did so "in order to prevent him from fulfilling the orders of the city council."[642]

In the late nineteenth century, police work in the Balkan capitals mostly consisted of penalizing infractions against public order and harassing the urban precariat. In the month of March 1900 in Belgrade, out of 72 arrests in the Savamala quarter, 28 were for vagrancy, 10 for disorder, and 4 for begging.[643] An additional 14 were for administrative offenses, such as opening shops after hours, hygiene violations or failure to report tenants and servants. There were no violent offenses. The ratio was similar in other neighborhoods.[644] The Belgrade police articulated the logic of order described in Basmadzhiev's procedural book by arresting people for begging, vagrancy, sleeping in an inappropriate place, drunkenness, gambling, or being unemployed.[645] As records of arrests show, lesser infractions did not require proof by the arresting officer beyond a simple note stating "for vagrancy" or "for begging."[646] At other times, reports simply noted that

640 DAS f. 1K op. 2 a.e. 110 l. 2
641 IAB UGB 1887 k. 2980 f. VI br. 30
642 DAS f. 1K op. 2 a.e. 110 l. 2
643 IAB UGB 1900 k. 2122 br. 342
644 In Dorćol, out of 53 arrests, 18 were for vagrancy, 8 for disorder and 17 for administrative offenses. IAB UGB 1900 k. 2122 br. 339, 341
645 IAB UGB 1897 br. 125 ("Pozorišna raportna knjiga") l. 3-36
646 IAB UGB 1898 k. 2107 br. 2

"there were vagrants and they were dealt with according to the law," without describing what was done and to whom.[647] The impulse of data collection ceased at points when it could be used against officers, or simply affirm the humanity of the persons arrested.

Advocates of scientific policing in turn-of-the-century Balkan capitals envisioned policing to be a "machine," something "not intimate," but capable of knowing "the most minute details of life." The tools of this new force at the state's disposal were science and logic, the deduction found in Sherlock Holmes novels and the measurement of heads and limbs introduced by Bertillon. The capacities of such a system were seemingly universal in a world of photography and telegraph, dactyloscopy and the printed word. Through international congresses, reports and translated works, Belgrader and Sofiaite policemen saw themselves as part of a new world in the making. Identifying and cataloguing people opened up space to manipulate, move, or mold them into "good and peaceful subjects," who would surrender their capacities to the needs of developing nations. Yet, regardless of the new forces of violence it unleashed, the fulfillment of such fantasies found its limits in individual and spontaneous collective action. Those marginalized by discovery and deduction found evasion and dissimulation. Against scientific truth, they employed invention.

Theft And Dissimulation

When Tasa Milenković described servants as an internal infestation, he did so in the context of the fin-de-siecle Balkan capitals where apprentices, servants, waiters and employees routinely stole from their masters.[648] Theft was difficult to resist, especially for those handling a

647 IAB UGB 1900 k. 2129 br. 8

648 IAB UGB 1902 k. 2162 br. 62; IAB UGB 1903 k. 2162 br. 97; *Policijski glasnik,* 14.2.1898, p. 56, 13.10.1898, p. 357; "Krazhba" *Sofiyski novini,* 17.12.1903, p. 3

year's worth of money in a day. When servant Miloš Jovanović stole a single gold pocketwatch from his banking clerk master, its value represented 1.6 years of domestic service work.[649] Konstantin Bozhinov, an employee of Angel Tsvetkov's store escaped with 3200lv after being sent to withdraw them from the Balkan bank on behalf of his employer.[650] His score almost equaled the yearly amount spent by city hall on aiding the poor.[651] Cases like the 1907 theft of 20 000 leva by a Sofiaite postman represented more than opportunism.[652] In the context of high levels of wealth disparity and government corruption figures in the millions, employee theft rejected the permanence of bourgeois economic order.

An 1893 joke printed in *Kukurigu* under the heading "Our servants" satirizes such forms of disloyalty as a peculiarity of the undercivilized Balkans. Yet, the joke's premise of rejecting wage labor and stealing back the revenue one helped create reveals the class struggle implicit in workplace theft. In the joke, a merchant offers a question to their prospective employee: "What will you ask for a month [of salary]?" The man responds: "If you put me at the till, I'll do 50 piastres, but otherwise I want 50 leva."[653]

Similar contradictions emerged in the highly gendered domestic service industry, where exploitation depended on the wider precarization of women's labor discussed in the previous chapter. Tasa Milenković's diatribes against servantwomen, explored in greater detail in chapter three, articulated the contradictions of the bourgeois household, which depended on and feared

649 *Policijski glasnik*, 30.8.1897, p. 28; The prices extrapolated based on Aleksa Jorga. "Real Income in Belgrade in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1805-1908" Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Bocconi University (2010)
650 "Edin mlad kradets" *Vecherna poshta*, 22.5.1906, p. 3; According to Stefan Dimitrov Tanev, Angel Tsvetkov was one of the first owners to hire female sellers on the floor of his department store on Klementina street. Stefan Dimitrov Tanev. *Otvoreni pisma: spomeni i izpovedi na glavniya redaktor na v. "Utro" pisani v Tsentralniya zatvor,* (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo Sv. Kliment Ohridski, 1994), 56
651 "Pomosht na stolichnite bedni" *Sofiyski novini*, 11.12.1906, p. 3
652 "Golyama krazhba v poshtata" *Sofiyski novini*, 14.10.1907, p. 3
653 "Nashi slugi" *Kukurigu*, 15.5.1893, p. 4

their domestic servants. In Sofia, domestic workers were evaluated in service books, offering a bargaining chip for masters who held onto the books for "safekeeping."[654] Like police files, these books held rudimentary anthropometric data used to track workers from one employer to the next.[655] They also held payment data – 14 year old Spasa Stamenova, for example, received 78 leva for six months of work at the household of Atanas Biserev, her behavior evaluated as "very good."[656] While this salary did not account for food and a pair of shoes, Stamenova's daily wage of 43 stotinki was still abysmally low, seven times less than a sewing day-laborer.

In such conditions, maids, cleaners and other women working in the domestic service industry, readily resorted to theft.[657]Some sought to ameliorate the precarity of domestic labor by routinely stealing from their employers.[658] Other women choose fraud as means of escaping intimate household labor. In Belgrade, Kosara Jovanović stated she abandoned servant work because she "didn't want and couldn't stand the mistresses (*gospođe*) who troubled and harassed her."[659] After a brief stint as a day laborer, she partnered up with the grifter Vladimir Tanacković who sold fake jewelry. Jovanović appealed to the sentiments of people by asking for money to bury her dead child and offering a seemingly pricey ring in exchange for a small sum. Her actions testify not only to the rejection of domestic labor but also to the existence of pragmatic solidarity between marginalized people.

The experience of servitude and the possibility of theft at times fostered spontaneous

654 *Pravilnik i knizhka za domashnite slugi v stolitsata* (Sofia: Bûlgarska narodna pechatnitsa, 1888); *Pravilnik i knizhka za domashnite slugi v stolitsata* (Sofia: Knigopechatnitsa i Litografiya B. Zilber, 1894)
655 Pravilnik, 1888, 8-9; Pravilnik, 1894, p. 9
656 Pravilnik, 1888, 11; See the copy held at the National Library Cyril and Methodius in Sofia, call number Sk 56704
657 *Policijski glasnik*, 11.11.1901, p. 348; IAB UGB 1899 k. 2119 br. 127. IAB, IAB UGB 1903 k. 2162 br. 62. IAB.
658 *Policijski glasnik*, 18.10.1897, p. 86, 21.3.1898, p. 98, 28.10.1901, p. 332
659 *Policijski glasnik*, 5.12.1898, p. 396

solidarity between the working poor. When tavern owners exploited economic precarity in order to hire short-term work, their waiters stole before being let go. When 19-year old migrant Marko Jovanović expected to get fired after working for 25 days, he asked his friends who worked in other taverns to help him extract the money and tobacco he had stolen from his boss.[660] Together, the group split the money amongst themselves, went to another tavern and had six bottles of beer. "All this money, we wanted to drink and we drank," said Marko to the policemen interrogating them. Yet, such forms of spontaneity were also threatened by vagrancy laws which allowed for the harassment of the unemployed.

While vagrancy regulations and police harassment made the street a risky site of encounter, train stations and trams were spaces of the crowd, where the mixing of social classes made pick-pocketing possible. In Sofia, the arrival of trains meant the ability to swipe moneybags.[661] The arrival of rail travel also made seasonal migration by the rural poor for the purposes of pick-pocketing possible.[662] Pick-pockets waited for the city tram to be filled with peasants newly arrived by train in order to lift their moneybags and run.[663] Other times, they picked the wallets of wealthier folk, running away with several months of a wage-laborer's salary.[664] The main city marketplace, as another space of encounter, offered similar opportunities, often targeting peasants.[665] Village folk who came to see the wonders of the city were easy targets for pick-pockets. When P. Panchov from the village of Rashkovo came to Sofia to see the circus, "transfixed by the games," he missed Haralampi Dimitrov's scissors cutting into his pocket and

660 IAB UGB 1901 k. 3022 f. V br. 220, l. 18, l. 1
661 "Krazhba v trena" *Vecherna poshta* 2.4.1906, p. 3
662 "Navodnenie ot dzhepchii v stolitsata" *Vecherna poshta,* 11.1.1906, p. 3
663 "Zaloveni dzhebchii" *Vecherna poshta,* 25.2.21906, p. 3
664 "Ograben ot dzhebchii" *Vecherna poshta*, 15.3.1906, p. 3
665 "Dzhebchiite na pazara" *Vecherna poshta*, 12.2.1906, p. 3; "Biti dzhebchiya" *Vecherna poshta*, 15.5.1906, p. 3

stealing his money bag.[666] Yet, thieves could also exploit the bourgeois propriety of savvy urbanites. A group of men from the nearby village of Knyazhevo caught the tram to Sofia, relying on their friend, Vasil Georgiev to cause a ruckus. When Georgiev refused to move his feet so a lady would pass, the other passengers hit him with their canes and umbrellas, allowing his co-conspirators to escape with the wallets and pocket-watches belonging to the crowd.[667]

The motivations of nineteenth century thieves were multi-faceted, and my argument is not to interpret the above examples as conscious forms of class struggle. Yet, separating the desire to escape conditions of waged labor and the precarious existence they bring is an impossible task. The continuity between theft inside and outside the workplace represents the boundaries of possibility in cities shaped by wealth disparity and exploitation. For many, theft was the only way to escape the precarious conditions of urban existence. Fourteen year old Dimitrije Dimitrijević stole the overcoat he used to cover himself at night.[668] Another man used the shirts he stole from his workplace as exchange for rent.[669] Stealing clothing brought little reprieve in the long run - in 1906 Sofia, a stolen jacket originally bought for fifty leva could be resold for three.[670] For migrants, conditions of life made theft a bare necessity. Laborer Miloje Sretenović, who was arrested for stealing promise bonds, shoveled sand for a living and slept on a grass field at night.[671] After being unemployed for eight days, another man stole food.[672] The revolutionary potential of theft was limited by the circumstances of daily life, by economic forces and state violence.

666 "Iskusen kradec" *Vecherna poshta*, 9.3.1906, p. 3; For a case of theft with a similar method of operations, see: "Zaloven dzhebchiya" *Sofiyski novini*, 23.12.1903, p. 3
667 "Postradal kradets", *Vecherna poshta*, 14.5.1906, p. 3
668 IAB UGB 1892 k. 2066 f. VIII br. 124 t. br. 2
669 IAB UGB 1887 k. 2980 f. V br. 125
670 *Vecherna poshta*, 27.1.1906, p. 1, "Krazhbi v stolitsata" *Sofiyski novini*, 18.5.1907, p. 3
671 *Policijski glasnik*, 25.9.1905, p. 368
672 IAB UGB 1901 k. 3022 f. V br. 358

For the most part, technologies of scientific policing depended on the accurate establishment of a person's identity. Yet, as activists promoted the proliferation of new techniques, fiscal demands made the adoption of identity files slow and piecemeal. In 1899, the Serbian Minister of Internal Affairs had ordered that photo books of “all so far convicted or otherwise naughty people” should be distributed to every police jurisdiction, in the interest of the personal safety of residents, the safety of their property, and the needs of local authorities.[673] As the costs of heat, lighting and office supplies in police stations were too high to allow for this state-wide project to be financed, the purchase was relegated to the following year, and shifted to municipal budgets.[674] Although photographic evidence would eventually make it to local precincts, loose border controls and rail travel made it easy for people to escape the law or claim new identities.

In 1893, the Sofiaite satirical paper “Kukurigu” published a full-page caricature entitled “The Cunning Stupids Bring the Cultured to their Senses,” which explored anxieties over identity and representation that shaped bourgeois life in fin-de-siecle Balkan capitals.[675] The image depicts two men traveling from Sofia to Paris and vice-versa, both beginning their trip as poor men, enriching themselves at each pit-stop of the Orient Express, and ending the trip as wealthy aristocrats. Their transformation was that of duplicity, aristocracy marked by fake lordships of small towns, such as “The Duke of Koprivshtitsa” and “The King of Batak,” or by the multiplicity of incongruous markers of nobility, such as “Mr Baron von de Essau.” The newspaper satirized a growing sense of fear in fin-de-siecle bourgeois culture, which saw itself surrounded by instability, theft and fraud.

673 IAB UGB 1899 k. 2119 br. 259
674 Ibid
675 *Kukurigu* 10.7.1983, p. 4

Contrary to the ambitions of scientific policemen, con-artists, thieves, pickpockets and gamblers utilized the urban infrastructure in order to relieve the wealthy of their financial burdens. As technologies developed in order to track and survey marginalized populations, so were they exploited by the urban precariat, those who sought to escape their living conditions and at times create new ones. The precariat exploited the contradictions of new urban worlds, from bourgeois reliance on intimate and service labor to ostentatious displays of wealth in the face of migration and poverty. The hustle was a part of urban life for servants who stole from their masters and con-artists who pretended to be bourgeois, even as criminalization made living increasingly difficult.

As the "Kukurigu" caricature satirized, the crossing of international borders made the obfuscation of one's identity or the claiming of a new one easier. In Sofia, the papers warned Bulgarians to not receive currency from Mihai Georgescu, a forger who spoke several languages and represented himself as "Georg Aud de Batemberg, Prince Cantacuzine."[676] Belgraders, Sofiaites, as well as residents of Vidin, Peć/Peja, and Istanbul also encountered the "Duke of Meduno," a man who claimed the identities of a wealthy Russian captain, a police official, the son of a Belgrade gendarme, a retired Bulgarian or Montenegrin officer.[677] Distant travel, however, was not necessary to obscure one's identity. For Belgraders, dissimulation could simply mean crossing the river into Austro-Hungarian Zemun. When a certain Lazar Dušanović was extradited to the authorities across the river, he confused the policemen by claiming that his real name was Lazar Glušić, "describing his past in such a way, that it was impossible to determine whether his claims were true."[678] Other men would steal a passport on their way into the city,

676 *Vecherna poshta, 11.1.1906, p. 3*
677 *Policijski glasnik*, 5.9.1898, p. 291
678 IAB UGB 1899 k. 2119 br. 321

preventing the authorities from registering their real name upon entry.[679]

Con-artists relied on signaling propriety and respectability, in ways which deeply upset the everyday hierarchies of bourgeois order. In 1900, an unknown young Belgrader, “finely dressed, presenting himself as a clerk with the Tax Auditor Department,” picked up goods on credit from a greengrocer, had it delivered to the entrance of a respectable building, and simply carried it out the back way.[680] Others, like Sofia's Stoyan Klecho, hid under the guise of respectability to exploit the weak. Klecho pretended to be a “Dr. Gerginov, a famous doctor for eye illnesses” to a peasant woman walking a blind man down boulevard Maria Luiza in Sofia, managing to swindle the two for their money.[681] Yet, the pretense of wealth was more often used on the petit-bourgeois, relying on perceived social worth to gain credit otherwise inaccessible to the insolvent urban poor. The editors of the *Policijski glasnik* categorized con-artists' ability to cross class boundaries as highly dangerous. “He could squal, beg, and swear to god, but yet – beware...” wrote the journal when describing Stanimir Milutinović, a 17 year old grifter who managed to enter a state minister's home in Sofia by developing close ties with his servant.[682] *Smyah i sûlzi* satirized these unsuccessful transformations by showing how a con-man's unshaven face, humped stance and patchy pants revealed him to be a fraud to when observed by a “true” bourgeois, an elegant man in a white coat carrying an ivory-top walking cane.[683] Behind this satire, however, lay profound anxiety over the potential con-artistry had to upset social order.

In “true crime” stories, *Policijski glasnik* expressed a growing fear that the patriarchal

679 Such was the case of Vojislav Dragojlović, also known as Tomić, Vujica, Novica, Grujić and Murga. *Policijski glasnik*, 7.2.1898, p. 46
680 IAB UGB 1900 k. 2122 br. 69. IAB.
681 “Mnim lekar – kradec” *Vecherna poshta*, 13.2.1906, p. 3
682 *Policijski glasnik*, 1.11.1897, p. 103
683 D. P. Unnamed image, *Smyah i sûlzi*, 10.10.1898, p. 3

order of urban space could be subverted or exploited through dissimulation.[684] A story entitled "Thieves' Cunning" describes a confidence trick played by an innocent-seeming girl and a gangster from the Belgrade outskirts.[685] In the trick, the girl dissimulated being in distress, thus inviting bourgeois men into flirting with her seemingly vulnerable self, until her co-conspirator entered the scene as a protective father or jealous boyfriend. A submission from a police officer described a similar "honeypot" scenario conducted by two grifters on the Belgrade-Sofia train.[686] In the story, an attractive woman distracts a train passenger, while her partner picks his pocket. When the police is called to investigate, propriety prevents them from searching the woman who held on to the stolen money. Stories of "true crime" warned against trickster women, whose street-savvy subverted the power relations of the bourgeois male gaze described in chapter three. The answer to this urban phenomenon, according to the *Policijski glasnik,* was patriarchal violence. The last paragraph of "Thieves' Cunning," advises beating women in the street instead of flirting with them. Commenting on the revenge killing of widow Marija Jelisavljević, who used her looks to extract money from different suitors, the *Policijski glasnik* noted how "[h]er death can serve as a useful example for many."[687] When dissimulation subverted the power dynamic of the male gaze, it upset the patriarchal order in a way that was seen as profoundly more threatening than the porous class boundaries brought by confidence-men.

If one of the purposes of policing was the institution of social boundaries legible to power, then grifters and thieves had the potential to upset class, gender and race. Such was the case of a 1901 group operating in Belgrade's Dorćol. Its members were migrants from the

684 *Policijski glasnik*, 20.9.1897, pp. 53-4
685 "Lopovske dosetke," *Policijski glasnik*, 29.11.1897, pp. 134-5
686 "Krađa na železnici," *Policijski glasnik*, 6.12.1897, p. 140
687 *Policijski glasnik*, 25.7.1898, p. 245

countryside - Stevan Stojčević, a 24-year old Roma man whose occupation was not listed, Radoš Milenković, a cotton-weaver's apprentice and occasional waiter, and a maid known either as Milica Belovuković, Anka Jadžić or Anka Jocić.[688] The three were arrested for stealing jewelry from a Belgrade family. This grouping deeply upset the policing of social boundaries, by bringing together men and women, wage and domestic labor.

The Dorćol group upset the distinctions ascribed to gadjo and Roma people in the context of expanded anti-Roma sentiment and its interpretation within European racial theory.[689] Translations of racialized ethnographies were published in the *Policijski glasnik*, which not only noted "gypsy" next to arrests, but forced arrested Roma women to pose in "action-shot" tableaus exposing them as fortune-tellers. [690] Sofia's offical and popular newspapers also routinely noted Roma ethnicity in their arrest reports.[691] In the Bulgarian capital, the Ministry of Internal Affairs opened special investigations against migrating Roma for potential of spreading disease among people and animals.[692] The urban expansion described in the second chapter merged with racialized hygiene in June 1906, when the Sofia city council bought a "gypsy neighborhood," in order to burn all the houses and construct a park.[693]

Discourses of progress, hygiene, urban design and scientific policing envisioned cities

688 *Policijski glasnik*, 4.3.1901, pp. 71-2

689 For an overview of how nineteenth-century state building and urban transformation profoundly impacted Roma people in Belgrade, see Dragoljub Acković. *Romi u Beogradu*. (Beograd: Rominterpress, 2009)

690 On racial ethnography, see: H. Gr. "Cigani, njihov život i njihove osobine" in *Policijski glasnik*, 10.10.1898, p. 327, 17.10.1898, p. 343, 31.10.1898, 352, 7.11.1898, p. 360 For exampels of arrest notes, see 5.10.1897, p. 72, 20.6.1898, p. 199, 54.12.1898, p. 391, 4.3.1901, p. 71-2, 5.8.1901, p. 235, 24.7.1905, p. 288, 31.7.1905, p. 295, 25.9.1905, p. 368, 23.1.1911, p. 24, On fortune-tellers, see: 5.4.1898, pp. 112-3

691 A few examples are: "Zaloveni kradtsi," *Vecherna poshta*, 3.5.1906, p. 3, *Sofiyski obshtinski vestnik*, 12.8.1889, p. 2, 18.3.1892, p. 4, 6.5.1892, p. 6, 17.6.1892, p. 3, 14.10.1892, p. 4, 23.7.1893, p. 6, 25.8.1893, p. 3, 8.12.1893, p. 5, 20.7.1894, p. 5, 3.1.1896

692 "Protiv chergarstvoto" *Vecherna poshta*, 13.4.1906, p. 3,

693 The only mention I've found of this event is in "Izgaraneto na ciganskata mahala v Sofia" *Vecherna poshta*, 1.6.1906, p. 3.

without “unsafe subjects”– Roma people, beggars, the unemployed or those who would refuse to work.[694] Others, like service and wage laborers, domestic and sex workers were to subject themselves to exploitation without resistance. The criminalized behavior described in the previous pages was the unorganized resistance of the marginalized, those “neither good nor safe subjects” that Milenković feared. Such actions were limited by conflict within and state violence without. The waiter who used stolen money to drink beer with his friends was betrayed by one of them. Almost all the examples given in the previous pages ended in incarceration. Keeping in mind the bias inherent in the source material, individuals certainly had the chance to evade state violence. Yet, as long as stealing a few items of clothing led to eight years of hard labor, theft and dissimulation remained strategies of evasion circumscribed by force.[695] Criminalization and scientific policing represented one side in the production of carceral spaces, prisons and forced labor another.

Visions Of Work At The Topčider Economy

In February 1851, the Serbian State Council determined to construct a general prison. In its justification, the Council called upon suggestions from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to build the prison for the needs of the Topčider Economy.[696] The Economy was an experimental agricultural estate founded in 1849 on the royal properties in the Topčider valley, some 4 kilometers away from Belgrade. In March, the convicts had already begun quarrying stone for the prison buildings.[697] By October of the same year, the final project for a joint Topčider

694 Public discourse surrounding hygiene and race was co-constitutive. See for example calls to “cleanse the city” of Roma people in “Samo u nas,” *Yuchbunarski glas*, 7.10.1901, p. 3
695 Such was the first conviction of Jevta Drašković, former worker in the city's electric company. *Policijski glasnik*, 18.4.1898, p. 129
696 AS DS 1851 br. 94
697 AS DS 1851 br. 117

Economy-Inmate Facility was complete.[698]

The Ministry's project for the Facility envisioned an “exemplary and experimental” agricultural space, meant to serve as a “model” for the people. People incarcerated at Topčider were to be assigned agricultural labor, so that they could “correct themselves in terms of moral behavior and aligning themselves to orderly actions, be useful citizens.” The Facility was given control over all the state land, forest and fields adjoining the Topčider river, and its tasks included managing the royal residence, church and gardens, built during the first reign of Prince Miloš. After 1853, an experimental agricultural school and a woolen cloth factory were created as additions to the estate. Barring minor territorial an administrative changes, the Topčider Economy remained in charge of managing natural resources through forced labor from 1851 until 1929.[699]

With the exception of the work of Nikola Vučo, historiography has avoided discussing the role of prison labor in shaping the valley's landscape and its various institutions.[700] For Michael Palairet, Topčider is significant as the site of Serbia's first factory, the woolen cloth section of the Economy-Inmate Facility.[701] In the collective imaginary of Belgraders, the space is a park and picnic area, which happens to contain a historic royal compound.[702] A swimming pool

698 AS DS 1851 br. 434

699 Nikola Vučo, “Topčiderska ekonomija” *Godišnjak grada Beograda,* XXVIII, (1981): 77

700 Ibid**.** In recent years, Topčider has largely been examined in the field of heritage studies. Katarina Mitrović, *Topčider- dvor kneza Miloša Obrenovića*. (Beograd: Istorijski muzej Srbije, 2008), Jelena Jovanović, “Prilog proučavanju Topčidera” *Nasleđe*, No. 15 (2014): 129-134, Nada Živković and Ivana Filipović, “Crkveni konak u Topčideru” *Nasleđe*, No. 15 (2014): 129-134; Nada Živković, “Topčidersko groblje u Beogradu - nastanak i razvoj” *Nasleđe*, br. 8, (2007): 171-177, Miroslav Timotijević, “Jubilej kao kolektivna reprezentacija - proslava 50-godišnjice takovskog ustanka u Topčideru 1865. godine” *Nasleđe*, br. 9, (2008): 9-49

701 Palairet, 126. While the exact definition of a factory is debatable, the first industrial production enterprise in nineteenth-century Belgrade was likely the Grand Brewery, which opened in 1840 on the corner of Bosanska and Tri ključa streets. Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Hoteli i kafane XIX veka u Beogradu* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1988), 113-4, Đuro Gavela, *Stari Beograd* (Beograd: Novo pokolenje, 1951), 243

702 The current Topčider spatial plan by the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade, notes the valleys “natural ambiance, a river valley bound by forested hills… Collectiosn of historic buildings.. historic parks with

covers the land where incarcerated people were buried between 1853 and 1930.[703] This idea of Topčider as a space of urban leisure has its roots in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when prisoner labor at the Economy-Inmate Facility regulated the course of the river, planted rare trees in the parks, and maintained the compound. For fin-de-siecle Belgraders, and in particular the wealthy, Topčider was space of relaxation, leisure, and trysts, where they could experience nature.

The history of Topčider prior to the establishment of the Economy is tied with agricultural production and state intervention. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the valley was settled by Bulgarian "gardeners" who planted crops and established irrigation infrastructure, but were forced out during the 1806 siege of Belgrade.[704] Sparsely populated, the area became a personal estate of Prince Miloš after the establishment of Serbian autonomy in 1830. As discussed in the first chapter, Miloš employed a combination of guild and prisoner labor in 1834-5 to build a compound in Topčider, consisting of a church, personal residence (*konak*) and auxiliary buildings. After 1842, the area came under the purview of the police-economic section of the Ministry of Internal Affairs headed by a Habsburg-Serb geodesist, Atanasije Nikolić.[705] Nikolić had previously employed prisoner labor for various agricultural projects in the 1840s, including the planting of mulberry seeds to promote silk production.[706] It was at Nikolić's urging with Minister Garašanin that the state decided to found the Economy in

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fountains and public monuments… characterize the rich heritage of this spatial cultural-historical landscape, giving it extraordinary significance." URBEL. "Tema broja – Topčider" Accessed Jul 22, 2016. http://www.urbel.com/documents/info23_tema.pdf

703 Nada Živković, "Topčidersko...", 171-177, 172

704 Svetislav Vladisavljević, "O počecima uređivanja Topčidera za izletničku i park šumu," *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, Vol. XXXVI (1989): 105

705 For a brief biography of Nikolić, see his obituary in Ilija Ognjanović, *Javor* (Novi Sad:Knjižara Luke Jocića, 1882), 1053

706 AS DS 1857 br. 2 str 6

1849 and shift the city's plant nursery to the valley. With the creation of the Economy-Inmate Facility in 1851, Topčider became a site where experts managed laboring bodies, harnessing natural resources and envisioned progress for the nation state.

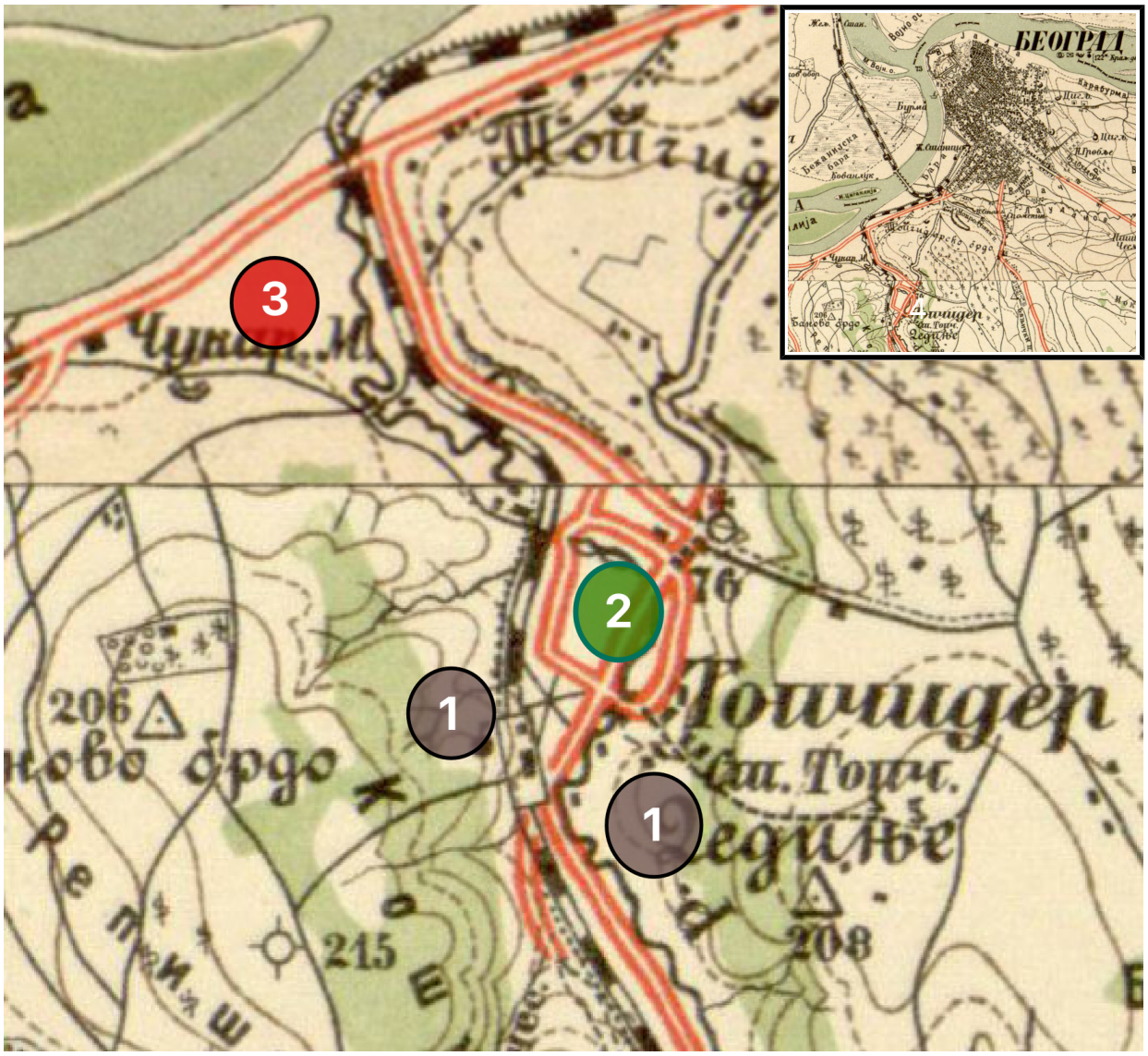

Illustration 27: 1894 military map of Topčider.
(1) Plantation and factory buildings of the Economy-Inmate Facility. (2) Royal compound and public park (3) Sugar factory (4) Topčider area in relation to the city [inset]

The 1851 project which established the Economy-Inmate Facility created administrative positions for experts meant to run the Topčider estate. The proposal advised hiring a chief economist, an accountant and a supervisor, assigning three assistant clerks to their aid as state employees.[707] Under them were gendarmes and policemen who were to operate as guards and overseers, employed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. As the Economy was meant to be "a model and lesson for all," the administrators were to serve in an instructional capacity as well, demonstrating to any curious visitors how agricultural tools and techniques were employed. "As all the other peoples in the progressing empires take care to move forward in agriculture, looking for ways to work more with less effort" the project noted, the Topčider Economy was to experiment with labor and crops, climate and soil "according to the European example." Progress was to be ushered through the laboring bodies of prisoners, who would in turn become "improved in morals and productivity… citizens useful to the fatherland."

As the initial proposal made clear, this fantasy of moral improvement and rising productivity was a vision to be exported to all of society, "so that our people might make use of these experiments."[708] In the Economy, its realization required controlling the labor, time, movement and hygiene of incarcerated bodies. Prisoners were to work in the fields from sunrise to sundown, with a two hour break mid-day in the summer, and an hour in the winter. On Saturdays, they were to take on hygienic tasks, washing the Facility, their clothes, and each other. Work would cease on Sundays, as to offer time contemplation and religious service. Prisoners were not be cursed at, or forced to "work so hard so their health would suffer." The proposal in part articulated an ethos of benevolent care for the moral and physical well-being of incarcerated

707 AS DS 1851 br. 94
708 AS DS 1851 br. 434

people.

Labor was the key to correction, itself a component in the wider social reordering towards national progress. Those who refused to follow, the “lazies, non-workers, disobedient or stubborn,” were to be punished through reprimands, lowered food rations, a diet of bread and water, denial of food, being chained in irons, given harder labor or caning. Good behavior, defined as “the most correct gardening, most successful grafting, best maintenance of the oxen, best plowing, scything or digging,” brought a monetary prize, although ¾ remained in the Economy's register. At the heart of state ambitions for the Topčider Economy-Inmate Facility was the vision of a new social machine, in which state-appointed experts had laboring bodies at their disposal for the purposes of wrestling from nature its profitable bounty.

Officials saw expertise as the only way natural resources could be exploited so that industry and the welfare of the nation would develop. During the founding of the Economy-Inmate Facility, Internal Affairs Minister Ilija Garašanin pleaded with the Prince to hire a man of “knowledge, skill, and experience,” so that “we can export the products of the earth and thus elevate the peoples general welfare and so forth.”[709] His letter brought forth Georgiy Petrovich, a Russian-educated apothecarist serving a Habsburg aristocratic family. Although Garašanin's request was approved a month later, the post of chief economist remained unstable. Throughout the 1850s, the estate was run by different people, all recipients of state scholarships to study at the Hockenheim agricultural school in Germany.[710] In 1856, the director Radojica Jovanović was

709 The letter from Garašanin notes that Petrovich's employer was Count Pejačević. The Pejačević is an old aristocratic family which in the mid-19th century had been split into three branches, owning estates in Našice, Ruma and Virovitica. It is unclear from the text which of the counts Garašanin is referring to, although due to the emphasis on “graf” (count) in the letter it is possible that Petrovich's employer was Petar grof Pejačević (1804-1887).

710 Vladisavljević, 108

sent to the Prague fair in order to examine new agricultural products, tools and cattle," together with two Hockenheim students.[711] Throughout its existence, the Topčider school would attract agricultural engineers familiar with the scientific method to direct the labor of convicts.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Serbian state officials looked to graduates of European schools in order to increase productivity in the country's agricultural economy. In Topčider, the directors of the Economy-Inmate Facility would replicate the model of Hockenheim, with the addition of convict labor. Like Topčider, the Hockenheim school was situated on the grounds of a former royal palace, where an "agricultural school and model farm" was established.[712] Students learned "the art of agriculture… both scientifically and practically," with "no branch of rural economy neglected..."[713] Cattle rearing, forest cultivation, botany, silk-worm and sugar-making all allowed for "experiments made in all the new improvements suggested."[714] Between 1860 and 1880, nine Habsburg-educated gardeners and foresters were hired to work for the Topčider Economy, four with ties to the Viennese Imperial Botanical Gardens.[715]

Based on a proposal from Atanasije Nikolić, the government established an agricultural school of its own at Topčider in 1853.[716] Assisted by convict labor, young men from each of Serbia's 55 counties were to learn the theory and practice of managing agricultural work at the institution. The education was funded by the state, and included all day field and classroom

711 AS DS 1856 br. 544
712 Henry Wenston Barron, *A Few Notes on the Public Schools and Universities of Holland and Germany Taken During the Summer of 1839.* (London: James Ridgway, 1840), p. 54
713 Ibid, 55
714 Ibid, 56
715 Vladisavljević, pp. 113-5
716 Svetislav Vladisavljević, "Zemedeljska škola u Topčideru (1853-1859)," *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, No. XXXIV (1987): 121

work, with annual and final exams. Life and work at the Economy was not easy on the students. Only 44 graduated in 1855, as seven had been let home due to illness, while three died.[717] In 1857, eleven were let home and another three boys died.[718] In December 1857 and January of 1858 two more boys died at the school.[719] By the end of 1858, the students had jointly petitioned the newly-formed Serbian assembly, stating that they were never informed that they couldn't go home for two years, and that "for their work on the Facility's estate, they receive no wages, while their food, clothes, shoes and living conditions are overall poor. As for science, what they did learn, they feel has no value to them. They had wasted their time and spent the people's money in vain."[720] By January 1859, conditions became so poor that the school principal wrote to the ministry, complaining that he was forced to leave the estate, as students were refusing to go to classes, growing "wilder," threatening him and the priest with beatings and ripping their schoolbooks.[721] The agricultural school at Topčider was disbanded and students were sent home in February of 1859.

The difficulty of the labor required of the students is likely one of the reasons behind the failure of the agricultural school. Their field work was meant to be the same as that of the convicts, and consisted of plowing, planting and harvesting potato, cabbage, beans, and sugar beet. Together with the convicts they also mowed grass, set out and retreived fertilizer, dragged and split grains, hay and clover, tilled and maintained the grounds of the Topčider park. Others were assigned to animal husbandry, beekeeping, or vineyard work.[722] Although many of these

717 Vladisavljević, "Zemedeljska škola...", p. 124
718 Ibid, p. 127
719 Ibid, 129
720 Ibid
721 Vladisavljević, "Zemedeljska škola…," 131
722 Vučo, "Topčiderska ekonomija", p. 71

tasks were shared, convicts were meant to handle any type of harder work.[723]

This harder work meant stone cutting at the estate's quarries, whose products were sold to private individuals in the city in order to help cover the Economy's losses.[724] Throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Topčider stone ws frequently used to pave Belgrade's streets and sidewalks.[725] Convict labor from Topčider, together with day laborers from the city built the 5.5km road from Belgrade to Topčider in 1858, lining it with cultivars of populus, black locust, chestnut, and lilac grown on the Economy's estates.[726] Down the road went carriages and (after 1892) a tramway, that brought Belgraders to the Topčider park grounds. Up the road went convicts, transporting the Economy's products in carts, watched by armed guards.[727] Entering the built-up area from the valley, the Topčider road ended in a representative avenue named after Prince Miloš.[728] The sidewalks and exotic cultivars that lined one of Belgrade's most representative new avenues were planted by Topčider prisoners.

Topčider was also a site of governmental attempts to jump-start industrial production throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The area was suitable due to its status as government property and the small river running through the valley into the navigable Sava. In 1838, the State Leatherworks were built on site, relying on leatherworker guild members as wage laborers.[729] As the Serbian leather market depended on Habsburg-manufactured goods made from exported Serbian raw stock, the Topčider Leatherworks was seen as a way to alleviate that

723 Vladisavljević, "Zemedeljska škola …," 121
724 IAB UGB 1849 k. 100 f. I br. 50. IAB. The slopes of the Topčider hills were also leased out to subcontractors, although it is unclear whether these included convict labor. IAB UGB 1849 k. 101 f. I br. 70a. IAB.
725 *Beogradske opštinske novine*, 4.2.1890, p. 2, 19.8.1890, p. 205, 12.4.1892, p. 183, 19.4.1892, p. 190, 1.5.1894, p. 83,
726 Vladisavljević, "O počecima uređenja...", 110-1; Vučo, "Topčiderska ekonomija", 71
727 *Zbornik zakona i uredaba Srbije*, vol. XXX, 321
728 See Illustration 28
729 Nikola Vučo, "Pravitelstvena ledernica u Topčideru" *Godišnjak grada Beograda, No. XXVII* (1980): 114

Illustration 28: Miloš the Great street, looking towards Topčider. 1905.
The poplar trees and paving stones were produced at the Economy, planted
and installed through prisoner labor

dependency. The factory sold its goods to Belgrade manufacturers and state institutions, but was faced difficulties in achieving solvency, with a number of dissatisfied workers quitting in 1841-2 because of low wages. The factory was closed in 1843, with a sizable budget deficit.[730]

In 1853, a new attempt was made by founding a woolen cloth factory at the Topčider Economy-Inmate Facility, which employed prisoner labor on steam and manual-powered machines.[731] Between fifty and sixty female and male convicts worked in the factory, with three

730 Ibid, 121

731 On the foundation and production history of the woolen cloth factory, see: Leposava Cvijetić. "Fabrike čohe u Topčideru – prva beogradska fabrika," *Ekonomski anali,* XV, No. 31-32 (1970): 63-84

or four overseers who had worked in woolen cloth production before.[732] Despite using prisoner labor, the enterprise still required state support, and management remained unable to become financially independent. An 1860 review of the Topčider Economy's finances found that the institution was given a substantial no-interest loan in order to construct the cloth factory and begin production. Although the Ministry had continued to pump money into the Economy's industrial production, the institution could not to pay the loan back out of its income. In 1858, the state instituted a five year moratorium on loan payments, with a subsequent payment plan.[733] The moratorium helped the factory achieve a positive balance in revenue, yet large amounts of cloth remained in storage unable to find customers.[734] After 1859, work ceased on a number of occasions, and factory buildings were leased out to subcontractors. It is unclear what happened to the factory and its machines during the 1860s, although at least some of them were dismantled by digruntled subcontractors.[735] Prisoner labor continued in the fields, quarries and workshops of Topčider.

Four decades later, new links between state intervention, prisoner labor, and international capital were forged to promote domestic industry. In 1898, the state promulgated a new law which sought to lure investors through tax breaks, rail transport subventions, tariff cuts and free land. Its first benefactors were the Regensburg industrialist Max Weinschenk, Magdenburg engineer Alfred Hacke and Ludwigshafen banker Julius Goldschmitt, who received broad support from the govenrment to open a sugar beet processing factory on the outskirts of Belgrade.[736] In 1899, the same investors founded their main production facility, Bayerische

732 Ibid, 70
733 AS DS 1860 br. 151
734 Cvijetić, 76
735 Ibid, 78
736 Nikola Vučo, “Fabrika šećera na Čukarici 1898-1941” *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, No. XXI (1974): 29

Zucker AG in Regensburg, Germany.[737] The Serbian branch of the firm was given 10 hectares of state land in Čukarica, near the Topčider Economy, which contributed an additional 3 hectares of its own land to the company.[738] The Serbian state's subventions depended on the German industrialists' willingness to hire local labor and promote domestic production of the sugar beet, a relatively unknown crop up to that point. Under these conditions, the factory only operated for two years unable to compete with Austro-Hungarian sugar exports.[739] The company had found the state's terms limiting, as domestic sugar beet production had been growing slowly. In 1906, the Regensburg management approached the Serbian government again with a proposal to transfer some machinery and production from their German factory to Belgrade, under the condition that they would receive tariff protection from sugar imports. The state on the other hand, regulated more specifically the development of local sugar beet production. In 1906, when the factory restarted production, 888,6 hectares were under cultivation at the estates of the Topčider Economy and two other institutions of prisoner labor in Ljubičevo and Dobričevo.[740] These new terms allowed the company to take hold of a larger part of the local market, with sugar imports dropping by 50% between 1906 and 1908.

The financial viability of new production in the face of international competition depended on bringing together forced prisoner labor, which provided the raw material, and the exploitation of wage labor, which produced surplus value on-site. In February 1907, five hundred female and male workers of the sugar factory went on strike. With the support of the radical

737 "History of the Company." Regensburg Zuckerfabriken. Accessed July 22, 2016. http://www.suedzucker.de/en/Unternehmen/Geschichte_1/Geschichte/Zuckerfabriken/Regensburg/.
738 Vučo, “Fabrika šećera”, p. 30
739 Ibid, p. 33
740 In 1898, Albert Riviere assesses that there were 420 convicts laboring in Topčider, 500 in Ljubičevo and 200 in Dobričevo. Albert Riviere, “De Pesth a Athenes”, *Revue Penitentiaire – Bulletin de la societe generale des prisons*, Year 23 (1899): 1234

direct-action wing of the Serbian Social Democratic Party (SSDP) and syndicalist anarchists, workers confronted the police and military, preventing them from bringing in strike-breakers to the factory floor. During the course of events, the Belgrade police chief vowed that strike-breakers will be brought in over "dead strikers' bodies."[741] In response, union leadership and the main wing of the SSDP advised ending the strike, yet a 2000-person worker assembly rejected their pleas, firing the union leaders. The following day, soldiers bringing in strike-breakers fought the striking workers, killing four and wounding an unknown number. Their deaths effectively ended the sugar factory strike, and union membership dropped considerably in the aftermath of the killings.[742]

During the sugar factory strike, no links were made between waged and prisoner labor, but a 1909 worker assembly brought those issues to the forefront. Organized by the SSDP-led General Labor Union and the Alliance of Cloth Workers, the assembly protested the use of prisoner labor to produce army uniforms.[743] The resolution was a victory for syndicalists and the direct action wing of the SSDP, as it called on workers to reject all obligations towards the state. Dimitrije Tucović and the main wing of the SSDP condemned the resolution as anarchist and bourgeois, seeing the conflict with the state as suicide for the workers' movement. For Mladen Vukomanović, the intra-party conflict over the 1909 resolution cemented the role of the SSDP as the vanguardist party of the workers' movement.[744]

Removed from the narrative of Serbian labor history, these events point to the close relationship between extra-capitalist coercion and the exploitation of labor in nineteenth century

741 Ivanović, Lazar, „Štrajk radnika fabrike šećera na Čukarici 1907.", *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, No. XXV (1968), p. 109
742 Ibid, p. 111
743 Vukomanović, Mladen, *Sindikalni pokret u Srbiji 1903-1914*, p. 185.
744 Vukomanović, 187-8

Balkan capitalism. Any history of capital which fails to take into account varied forms of state violence, not merely as a particular forms of coercion, but in their relationship to finance and industrial capital, remains incomplete. Yet, as the 1907 strike and 1909 assembly demonstrate, the collective interest of workers also isolated them from the full consequences of the system of violence they struggled against. Throughout the early twentieth century, Belgrade workers walked their May Day parade from the Belgrade fortress (itself a prison) to the Topčider park, where they danced and sang revolutionary songs.[745] Prisoners' bodies, policed, guarded, beaten and murdered by the same forces which attacked the striking sugar factory workers were excluded from collective organizing efforts. The Topčider Economy remained a site of individual and spontaneously-organized collective struggle by incarcerated people alone.

A quarter of a century before the Haymarket massacre, Topčider inmates had their own May Day, which state officials called the clearest example of "convict brazenness."[746] On the evening of May 1st, 1860, as their work day ended, inmates were taken from the fields to the prison building to be locked up for the night. At one point, Ivan Filipović, Timotije Mihailović, Eremija Urošević and Živan Koić moved away from the inmate column. When guards moved to bring them back in line, the four men used the field tools still their possession to chase their captors away, defending themselves and shouting: "shoot if you dare."

As the other prisoners saw their escape they "became highly agitated and began saying they will kill all the cops and run away." The warden decided to lock up "the worst of them," yet "instead of being calmer in prison [the inmates] started shouting that they will break the door and

745 "Sa radničke proslave", *Pravda*, 20.4.1905, p. 2; "Proslava prvog maja," *XX Vek*, 5.4.1902, p. 2; "Majska proslava" *XX Vek*, 18.4.1902, p. 2
746 AS DS 1861, br. 577

do something bad." Upon the wardens' request, ten soldiers were assigned to the Facility and given free license to kill any inmate who sought to fight the guards or escape. When the prisoners were told of this, the eighteen of the "worst" men still in lock up responded by threatening to "take off their shackles, break the door and do something even worse."

The Ministry admitted it was at an impasse, even as it sought to "overcome this hostility." Its major problem was that inmates were given "scythes, crowbars, spades, and hammers" for their work, which could then easily be used against the guards. Furthermore, the events of May 1 were not an isolated incident - between March and May 1, 1861, 29 inmates escaped on nine separate occasions. In the end, the Ministry implemented new rules that allowed guards to shoot and kill any prisoner caught escaping or assaulting their overseer.

These new brutal measures did not stop escapes from the Topčider Facility. In September 1897, six convicts escaped, including two women who "took away two of the female children."[747] Other escapes followed, many noted by the police journals which regularly published photos of the runaways.[748] The prisoners at Topčider fascinated advocates of scientific policing at the *Policijski glasnik*. Under a photo of the juvenile prisoner Milorad Hajduković, the journal editors wrote: "It is very interesting to watch that line of little ones – convicts, that can be seen in Topčider during labor or in the penal classroom."[749] Escapees used the agricultural infrastructure around them for their benefit, sometimes making temporary alliances with servants working on the private holdings nearby. Andreja Marković and four other men did so when they

747 *Policijski glasnik*, 13.9.1897, p. 47
748 *Policijski glasnik*, 5.10.1897, p. 72, 6.6.1898, pp. 183, 185, 5.9.1898, p. 293, 1.10.1898, p. 326, 10.10.1898, p. 334, 31.10.1898, p. 357, 5.5.1901, p. 136, 5.8.1901, p. 235, 20.7.1908, p. 232 3.8.1908, p. 248, 26.10.1908, p. 344; For brevity, only a small sample of the escape reports is cited.
749 *Policijski glasnik*, 9.5.1898, p. 153

hid for days in the vineyard hut of Vladimir Janković, a worker on the field of the lawyer Pops.[750] Inmates found protection in the city – the butcher Aron Testo hid Nedeljko Pavlović and Miloš Knežević for a month after they escaped Topčider's weavers workshop.[751] Together, the convicts also found ways to overcome the threat of murder posed by the guards. In 1901, two 21-year olds, Pantelija "Baja" Trifunović and Dragutin Janković, attacked their overseer suddenly, taking away his rifle and tying him up to a tree in order to prevent pursuit.[752] Hoping to promote their capture, the *Policijski glasnik* published their incarceration photos. In them, the two men are wearing ill-fitting prison clothes made of woolen cloth, holding small chalk boards with nothing but their prisoner number.[753] Standing in the "atelier" of the *Policijski glasnik*, they face the camera defiantly, frowning at their photographer captor.

750 *Pravda*, 30.3.1911, p. 3
751 *Policijski glasnik*, 26.10.1908, p. 344
752 *Policijski glasnik*, 5.5.1901, p. 136
753 See Illustration 29

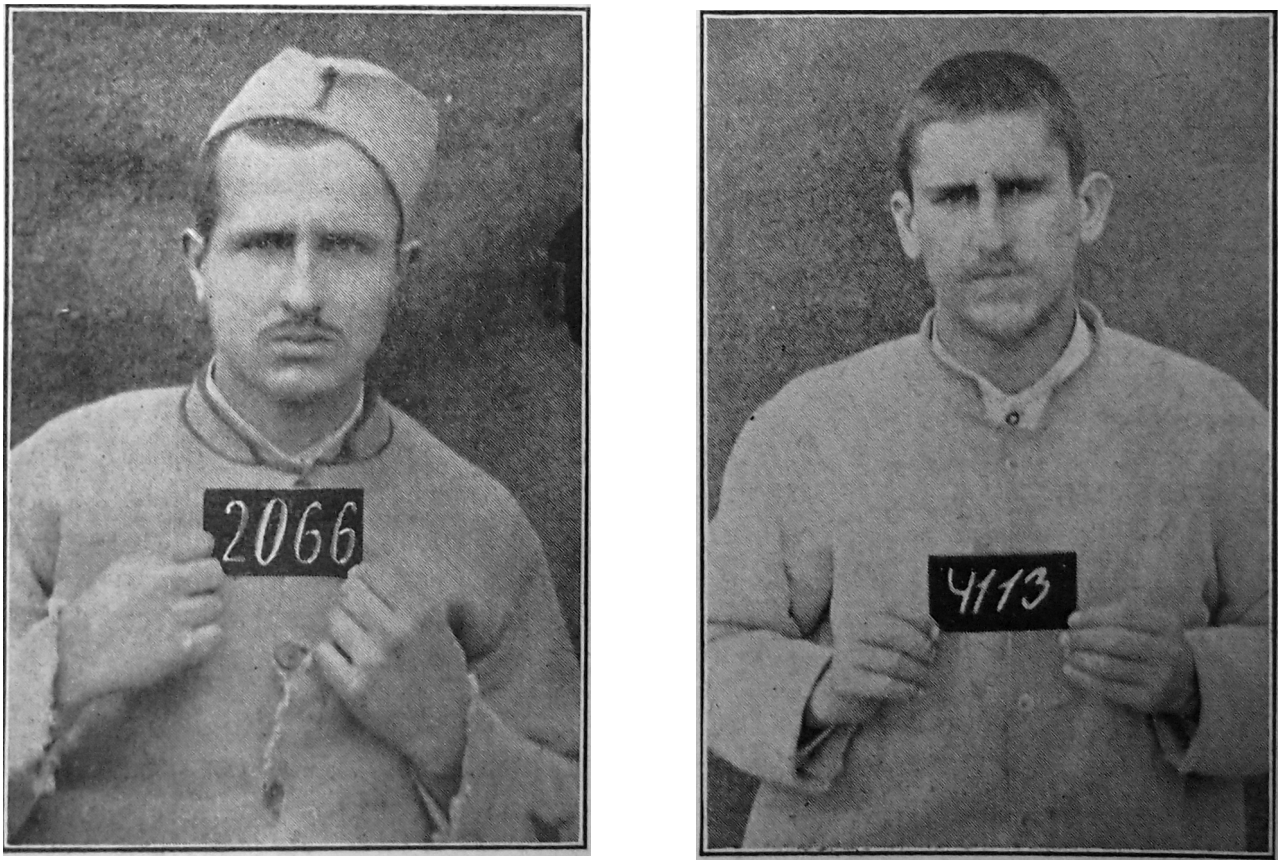

Illustration 29: Pantelija "Baja" Trifunović and Dragutin Janković, escapees from Topčider.

Spaces Of Labor And Prison Design In Sofia

Descriptions of Ottoman prisons in the Balkans appear in the memoirs and biographies of Bulgarian revolutionaries arrested during the second half of the nineteenth century.[754] They offer significant insight into the varied experiences of political prisoners and rebels against the state during their incarceration. As Kent Schull has argued, the Ottomans embarked on a slow, determined transition towards carceral systems of punishment during the Tanzimat that was far from uniform.[755] While a significant step to a better understanding of Ottoman incarceration, Schull's work remains narrowly focused on Istanbul and turn-of-the-century Anatolia. In the

754 Svetoslav Milarov, *Zapiski ot tsarigradskite tamnici*. (Sofia: Gal-Iko, 1994); Zahari Stoyanov, *Zapiski po bûlgarskite vûstaniya* (Sofia: Pan, 2010); Konstantin Velichkov, *V tûmnitsata* (Sofia: BZNS, 1977)
755 Schull**,** *Prisons in the Ottoman Empire*

Balkans, some carceral reform was implemented earlier than Schull suggests. During Midhat pasha's governorship of the Danube Vilayet, between 1864 and 1877, the Vidin and Ruse prisons went through a gradual process of transformation. If, as Marius Reinowski has argued, the institution of Ottoman "order" was at the heart of the Tanzimat, then the perspective of a "disordering" Balkan revolutionary might offer insight into the application and contestation of reform processes.[756]

Dimitûr Marinov's autobiography, written during the 1920s is one of the few accounts which describes both dungeons and general population prisons in Ottoman Bulgaria. Marinov (1846-1940) was an ethnographer, national activist and educator, who had participated in secret Bulgarian revolutionary committees during the late 1860s. Educated in Belgrade and Istanbul, he moved in nationalist circles outside the Bulgarian lands before taking the post of head schoolmaster in the northwestern town of Lom. During the 1876 April uprising, Marinov was arrested for aiding two rebels from the company of Hristo Botev. His autobiography describes incarceration in three prisons (Lom, Vidin and Ruse), where he was held until late 1877.

Marinov begins his account by describing the differences between two types of incarceration. In Lom, he was first placed in a *tomruk*, a "wet and dark" dungeon whose lower floor was filled with muddy water, in which he spent three days and nights without food or water, bound to a rack.[757] After failing to get a confession out of him, the local council moved him to the adjacent jail (*zatvor*), where he was held in communal lock-up with the Botevite men he had aided.[758] In the following weeks, Marinov was shuffled between different places of incarceration

756 Marius Rainowski. *Die Dinge der Ordnung: Eine vergleichende Untersuchung über die osmanische Reformpolitik in 19. Jahrhundert* (München: Oldenbourg, 2005)
757 Marinov, 176
758 Ibid, 180

- Vidin, Ruse, and Vidin again, before finally being placed in Lom after sentencing. He was initially beaten on each arrival, and often moved between extraordinary incarceration (*tomruk* or *zandan*) and regular lock-up (*zatvor*). His memoirs offer valuable insight into the imprisonment for both political and regular prisoners, as he was placed among the general population at least three times.

Marinov's descriptions highlight how the experience of incarceration varied sharply depending on the location of the prison, social status, and the disposition of local officials. In Vidin, he was subjected to public humiliation with other co-conspirators, as they were walked through the main trading quarter where they were spat on and beaten by local Muslim women.[759] After being withheld food and drink, he was given water with human feces by the guards.[760] As he began to note his status as schoolteacher in front of the various councils questioning him, Marinov began to be treated differently, soliciting reprimand for the guard who gave him excrement. In Ruse, he was housed among general population of some 150 people, imprisoned in twelve cells and segregated according to the severity of punishment. Examining in more detail Marinov's description of the Ruse cell contains examples of prisoner solidarity and its limits.

In Ruse, the most significant difference between general population and dungeons was the lack of torture and the communal nature of incarceration. Marinov describes a level of solidarity between the thirteen prisoners in his cell which transcended religious differences. Although the guards had called him a Christian bandit in order to spark conflict, Marinov describes being received well by the other prisoners and being called “teacher sir”.[761]

759 Ibid, 182
760 Ibid, 183
761 Ibid, 188-9

Commanding social respect had allowed him to rise in the hierarchy of the cell, which was based on seniority and involved the completion of demeaning tasks, such as emptying the chamberpot. He further notes how his cell-mates had obtained a copy of the penal code in both Bulgarian and Ottoman Turkish, performing mock trials to coach each other on how to speak in front of the authorities.[762] Access to the yard and prisoners in other cells was also mostly unrestricted, as cells were only locked in the evenings and for two hours after lunch. Such mobility, however, also allowed for the macabre spectacle of the noose used on fellow inmates.[763] In the end, inmate solidarity transcended religion only up to a point. Marinov's Muslim cell-mates were all released under the condition of fighting the Serbian army in the 1876 war, while his Christian friend, Stefan Nikolov, was hung.

In the background of Dimitûr Marinov's memoirs are the tensions and conflicts of the Tanzimat era and prison reform in the Ottoman Empire. Although the imagery of insufficient Europeanization appears throughout the text, his experiences in Lom, Vidin and Ruse can also be read as modern affairs.[764] He was transported from prison to prison on steamships, forced to listen to clamoring passengers of the rising Danubian trade above his quarters. The printed Imperial Ottoman Penal Code of 1858 that Marinov encountered in his cell, the sanctions his guard received for serving him feces, as well as the existence of multi-religious courts represented some of the effects of imperial reform. Yet, friction existed between the effective management of imperial subjects and the necessity to placate rising communal tensions. When

762 Ibid, 189
763 Ibid, 194
764 When describing his trial in Ruse, Marinov noted that his officials presented “the face of a European court” in front of foreign consuls, implying that its substance remained unreformed. Ibid, 190, The Tanzimat-era reforms are noted several times in his text, including “European” conditions in the Vidin prison, non-Muslim participation in local governing concils, and his acquaintance with the Young Ottoman Lutfi Bey.

Marinov received special treatment in Lom prison, it was based on his status in the local community, itself emerging from his nationalist activism and struggle against the Ottoman state. Muslim resentment towards the changing social role of Ottoman Christians is evident in Marinov's writing, exemplified by one of his guards, a “cruel man” on account of being banished from Belgrade 1862.[765] Particularly after the 1850s, prisons were Tanzimat spaces, where the contradictions of imperial reform, economic transformation, and nationalist activism could be clearly seen.

For Kent Schull, nineteenth-century prisons were “microcosms of imperial transformation wherein many of the pressing questions of Ottoman modernity played out.”[766] Within changing carceral spaces, Schull identifies key features of the Tanzimat, such as administrative centralization, national and gender identity, public health and welfare, professionalization, and industrial development. Marinov's account of social breakdown in Bulgarian prisons problematizes Schull's conclusion that penal reform was a hybrid, grounded in reinterpreting “Ottoman and Islamic cultural norms and sensibilities” for the modern era.[767]

My argument is not that Tanzimat prisons should be seen through the prism of the colonialist and Orientalist narrative of the “Sick Man of Europe.” Rather, I argue that the continuities and discrepancies between imperial reform and latter nation-state policy reveal the wider stakes of state-building in the nineteenth century Balkans. Prison reform during Midhat pasha's governorship took place in the context of a broad experimental project that employed various forms of state intervention in order to “progressively” transform social relations within

765 Ibid, 176
766 Schull, 196
767 Ibid

the Danube Vilayet. Some of these projects, such as the promotion of agricultural credits, have been interpreted as successes, promoting Bulgarian agricultural production and its further into the money economy.[768] With the establishment of reformatory workshops for orphans and juvenile offenders (*islâhhane,* "correction-house"), the state sought to perform paternalistic care and spearhead productivity.[769] Yet, as Nazan Maksudyan demonstrates, such ideas of "good order" were also intended to diminish and control street urchins, beggars and vagrants as urban unproductive classes.[770] Notions of "good order" were also employed in experimental prison workshops in Vidin, described in Marinov's account to include a craft production for the needs of local manufacture.[771] Particularly during Midhat pasha's governorship, Ottoman authority increasingly began to be constituted around the capability to harness state power in order to accelerate social transformation.[772]

After all, the Bulgarian state did not ground itself in "Islamic cultural norms," yet it struggled with similar issues as its Ottoman predecessor. Foreign models were also adopted and translated in various ways, sometimes in response to visits by West European observers, but often as part of a wider project of social transformation. Such changes in the social production of carceral space went far beyond the prison walls and the penal codes. As discussed previously, the

768 Michael Palairet, *Balkan Economies,* p. 62, See also: Maria Todorova "Midhat Paşa's Governorship of the Danube Province" in. *Decision making and change in the Ottoman* Empire, ed. Caesar E. Farah (Kirksville, Missouro: Thomas Jefferson university Press, 1993), pp. 115-128

769 English language scholarship has been relatively silent on *islahhane*s, with the exceptions of Nazan Maksudyan's *Orphans and Destitute Children in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014), 78-115, and a brief mention in the context of Midhat pasha's reforms in Todorova, "Midhat Paşa...", 117. These institutions have been discussed in Bulgarian language literature. See: Teodora Bakârdzhieva, "Rusenskoto islahhane – chast ot obrazovatelnata reforma v Osmanskata imperia", in *Studia Balcanica 23*. (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo, 2001), pp. 325–338, Georgi Pletnyov. *Midhat pasha I upravlenieto na dunavskiya vilaet* (Veliko Tûrnovo: IK Vital, 1994), pp. 168-170,

770 Maksudyan, "State Orphanages," in *Orphans and Destitute…,* pp. 78-115

771 Marinov, 199

772 Todorova' notes that both the Muslim and non-Muslim non-elite populations may have harbored resentment towards Midhat pasha's projects of social transformation, amplifying anti-Ottoman sentiment in the Vilayet. Todorova, "Midhat Paşa...", 125-6

prison was only one part of a continuum of state violence, whose purpose was to enclose and produce new forms of social relations mediated by coercion.

During the Russian occupation of Sofia (1877-9), a new prison was established to replace the old space of detention from the late Ottoman period. While the layout of the old prison building remains unknown, a supply request dated January 1st, 1878 suggests that the building had three cells where prisoners were kept, one guard room and one room for the keymaster.[773] As Sofia was not a large regional center of the Danubian Vilayet, this information is in line with the practice of small-occupancy communal incarceration. The supply request also notes a "new prison," established as a larger institution, with ten cells and several administrative rooms. The most likely candidate for this building is the building of the former Islamic school (*medrese*) attached to the Koca Derviş mosque, known in popular parlance as *Chernata Dzhamiya*, the Black Mosque. The transition from the old to the new prison possibly took place in the winter of 1878, as the order request notes the amount of heaters and wood required for each cell.[774]

The prison building was a single-storied dervish dormitory, some 40 paces to the west of the Koca Derviş/Imaret Mosque, an imposing single-domed structure most likely designed by the famous Ottoman architect Sinan in 1528.[775] The mosque and the prison were separated by a large stone wall and a large entry gate to the prison yard. The yard was 42 paces long and 18 wide, with a single water fountain in the middle and two fruit trees to the side, dried up by the late 1890s. It faced the prison building, which allowed entry to an inner courtyard. Facing the courtyard were 15 windows of rooms which once had individual doors facing the courtyard, but

773 I base this assesment on the number of lamps and heaters noted on a purchase request dated January 1st, 1878. DAS f. 1K op. 2 a.e. 101 l. 9 verso; The prison may have part of the police building at Kafene-bashi (today's Slaveykov square).
774 Ibid, l. 10 recto
775 Vladimir D. Danchev. *Chernata dzhamiya*. (Sofia: Pechatnitsa na Iv. G. Govedarov, 1899), p. 4

were enclosed now the addition of an external corridor.[776] Thirteen of these rooms were cells of 4 by 4 meters, which housed 162 male and 40 female prisoners in 1912.[777]

Known colloquially as the “Black Mosque,” the dormitory was an improvised structure, whose space revealed its non-carceral history. The external corridor was not the only addition meant to transform the dormitory into a prison. In 1899, Vladimir Danchev reports that the basement was used to house the female prisoners, a practice that seems to have ended a decade later, when the Bulgarian socialist Georgi Dimitrov had been incarcerated there.[778] Women were also separated from male prisoners by being allowed only into the outer courtyard. Other makeshift additions included rooms for the prison administrators, with one cell being used as tool storage and solitary confinement. A noose hung in the center of the yard, moved there from its corner in 1888, making the Black Mosque space similar to the layout of the Ottoman prison in Vidin a decade earlier.

As noted earlier, Marinov remembers the Vidin prison to be “arranged in a kind of European way,” with a workshop where prisoners would practice woodwork, turnery, textile and clothmaking, iron and tin work.[779] Their products were sold on the local market, and prisoners shared the revenue with the prison administration. “In one word, the prison was seething with life, even if that life was under chains...” added Marinov.[780] As in Belgrade’s Topčider Economy, such visions of a productive carceral economy were employed in order to subjugate prisoners' bodies to social experimentation.

776 Ibid, 6
777 Georgi Dimitrov, l. 2
778 Danchev, 8-9, Dimitrov, 2
779 Marinov, 199
780 Ibid

Similar ambitions for a "seething" and productive life appear later, in an 1882 circular by the Bulgarian Ministry of Justice, which defined prisons as "corrective" institutions where prisoners would be taught how to "provide for their own bread" after release, and could be assigned to work even outside the prison.[781] In 1900 Sofia, prison reformers sought to motivate wardens to organize production effectively by assigning them a part of the prisons' profits as a monetary incentive.[782] Prisoners who worked harder were incentivized by the possibility of parole and pardons. In particular, the ability to perform good work was a key requirement in judging eligibility for a royal pardon.[783]

Achieving freedom through labor was not merely the result of a bureaucratic drive to judge individual performance, but part of a wider logic which envisioned the carceral as a space of forced socialization. Although advocates of scientific policing and popular newspapers borrowed from Cesare Lombroso's theories of the congenital delinquent, in practice, regulations and prison designs remained faithful to the task of correcting individuals to align better with social needs. Forced labor was thus an important component of both prison and individual reform in the eyes of the Bulgarian state, which sought to integrate it within the national economy through regulatory guidelines published in 1900 and 1904.[784]

Two years prior to the initial publication of the guidelines, the Bulgarian Ministry of Justice began to conceptualize how prison labor could be regulated. In 1898, the Minister of Justice Georgi Zgurev had provided a draft of prison labor regulations to all district courts which

781 Ministerstvoto na vûtreshnite raboti, *Sbornik na okrûzhnite pisma izdadeni ot MVR do 1 yanuari 1886* (Sofia: Dûrzhavna pechatnitsa, 1886), 67
782 *Pravilnik na okrŭzhnite zatvori*, p. 32
783 TsDA f 242к op 1 ae 308
784 Ministerstvoto na vûtreshnite raboti, *Pravilnik za urezhdane na rabotata v okrûzhnite zatvori* (Sofia: Drzhavna pechatnitsa, 1900), Ministerstvoto na vûtreshnite raboti, *Pravilnik za rabotata na zatvornitsite* (Sofia: Drzhavna pechatnitsa, 1904)

included model accounting books and a questionnaire. The Sofia section was the first to receive the memo.[785] The Minister had asked prosecutors to determine whether mandatory labor for all prisoners was possible, and if such measures would produce "restlessness" and a "desire not to work." Until that point, labor was not mandatory in Bulgarian prisons, and existed on a smaller scale through private arrangements between inmates, the warden, and external businesses. The Ministry feared that those already working might possibly strike, and that new workers might refuse to take up work. In order to motivate them, the regulators inquired whether prosecutors and wardens thought it prudent to make work a condition for early release. Finally, they asked local administrators for an assessment of current capacities, the capital required, and the possibility of inmates completing government orders and financing their own tools.

The Sofia prosecutor responded within three weeks, noting that "in current conditions, it is hardly possible to employ all the inmates."[786] There was simply not enough infrastructure, and "discontent" was likely. Setting work as a requirement for parole was a good idea to push prisoners to give themselves to work "without compulsion", noted the prosecutor, underlining his words. The Black Mosque imprisoned woodcutters, leatherworkers and shoemakers who were doing piecework already, and other inmates had learned sock, net and pursemaking in the prison. Prisoners were purchasing raw materials of their own funds, and without investment and training it would be impossible to fulfill the Ministry's designs of supplying state officials with prison-made uniforms and shoes. The prosecutor suggested a solution – integration with outside firms, who could have inmates do part of their work. This had already been successful, but only because the prices were 15-20% lower than the market. The "most concrete part of the work that

785 TsDA f. 242k op 1 ae. 303, l. 9
786 Ibid, l. 14

good regulations need to do" was labor organization.

In 1900, the first Regulations for the Organization of Labor in District Prisons were published in the state gazette.[787] All prisoners between the ages of 21 and 60 were obliged to work between 8 and 10 hours a day. Women, those found incapable by the administration, political prisoners and duellists were spared of hard labor. In addition, any outside work had to be in the service of the state and the respective municipalities. Prisoners were paid 35% of the profits made by what they produced, although half was to be kept in the prison treasury until release.[788] The Ministry clarified these regulations in a Sep 11, 1900 circular, noting that prison work was "a corrective means and as a strictness of the punitive regime… but this is not the only goal of the work; it serves also as a good measure of order in the prison and economy for the state."[789] In order to achieve these "corrective means," work was to be done under the supervision of a guard overseer to whom inmates would "subordinate themselves and follow his direction for work and the maintenance of order and silence." Those found to be "careless and lazy at their work" were to suffer disciplinary sanctions.

Effectively, the 1900 Regulations established a regime of labor circumscribed by the forces of state violence. The primary customer envisioned were not private companies, by the state itself, which could employ prisoners to build infrastructure and provide uniforms. In fact, the Ministry ignored the urging of the Sofia prosecutor to make prices competitive.[790] The regulations favored directed production for the state, "the best and biggest customer." In the Bulgarian territories, forced labor had already been used by the Ottoman state to hasten the

787 *Dûrzhaven vestnik*, 16 Sep 1900, p. 1
788 Ibid, l. 2
789 TsDA f. 242k op 1 ae. 303, l. 40
790 Ibid, l. 41

construction of railway lines.[791] In 1897, engineer Stefan Geshov used similar logic to argue for the necessity of using statue labor in order to build up the country's infrastructural capacity.[792] Geshov's article in the Journal of Bulgarian Engineers and Architects offered a detailed description of how statute labor should be organized, enforced and applied, formulating a technocratic vision which found its echo in prison work regulations.

The implementation of this project in Sofia was not very effective. The warden wrote to the Ministry in October 1900, noting that the application of the regulations will be difficult, and that only 18 men could be found that could do manufacturing work.[793] This included woodworking, sewing, shoemaking, and carpentry using their own tools. Four men were working on two government-owned machines making socks, while other inmates were forced to work in their cells making nets, belts, leather purses and wallets. The warden remained optimistic, suggesting to hire external craftsmen to train existing prisoners. However, requests to build workshop areas in the prison yard were denied, as were proposals to use prisoner labor in order to save costs.[794]

A year later, the Ministry published another circular, discussing how the new regulations were applied.[795] The memo complained that prison administrations allowed a number of infractions of the adopted codes. The administrators turned a blind eye to some inmates selling tobacco, fruit, coffee and soap brought in from the outside, cooking and making pickles in their own cells, the mixing of old and young, “good and bad” inmates. “Because of ill attention to orders requiring appropriate management,” the Ministry added, “inmates from all categories

791 Lampe and Jackson, 137-8
792 SBIAD, April-May 1897, p. 26
793 Ibid, l. 61
794 Ibid, l. 60, 62
795 Ibid, l. 69

were allowed to spend their whole day in the yard together in idleness and emptiness, because only a small minority are charted with work." Three years into the project of regulating prison labor, the Bulgarian Ministry of Justice saw itself facing a serious setback.

This was not simply a case of incompetence or inability to follow orders. Those prisoners who did work, the Ministry noted, were "poorly arranged" by the administrators, who either did not keep books or severely misused them. The outcome of this creative bookkeeping, the letter added, had been that profits were turned into "a paltry sum." Although "where the regulations were applied, as much as conditions allowed" enough money was gathered to buy or repair tools, effort needed to be made to bring such money back to the state. In its conclusion, the letter requested that county prosecutors make sure that sums were recorded properly, profits were deposited with the state treasury, and that money for tools and teaching "cannot be taken out without permission from the Ministry."

Instead of creating effective spaces of labor where criminalized people were transformed into productive workers, prison reform had fostered new forms of exploitation. Describing his incarceration at the Black Mosque a decade later, Bulgarian socialist Georgi Dimitrov saw the prison as a space of "colossal corruption."[796] Dimitrov noted how the warden routinely embezzled the prison budget through kick-back deals with food contractors.[797] Guards used the "phantom" of regulations and the threat of solitary incarceration in order to threaten inmates, pushing them to pay for a variety of things, from taking off shackles to being sent out for work detail.[798] During Dimitrov's incarceration, there were two types of work detail. Outside the

796 TsDA, f. 146 op 2 ae 91 l. 1
797 Ibid, l. 10 Dimitrov had spent a month there between Jul 11th and August 10th, 1912. Veselin Dimitrov Hadzhinikolov and David Elazar. *Georgi Dimitrov – biografiya.* (Sofia: Partizdat, 1972), p. 62
798 TsDA, f. 146 op 2 ae 9, l. 12

prison, inmates worked on the construction of sanatoriums at Dragalevtsi and Iskrets. Prisoners were motivated to bribe guards for a spot in the construction detail because a day of work outside was counted as a day and a half of time served.[799] In order to prevent escape during these excursions, guards held prisoners collectively responsible – any escape would lead to the loss of all accumulated bonus days for the whole work group, making "officer supervision almost superfluous."[800] Inside the prison, work remained the same as it had been twelve years earlier – sockmaking, net weaving, and woodwork making tables and chairs. Determined by the administration, and presumably requiring bribes like other details, working inside the walls offered no reduction in sentencing and was severely underpaid. Dimitrov gives the example of a prisoner receiving only 20-30 stotinki for one or two days of work. For the socialist, the work detail inside prison walls was "more horrid than the most terrible capitalist exploitation."[801]

Georgi Dimitrov's "From the Black Mosque", printed in the workers' *Rabotnicheski vestnik* upon his release, sought to situate the "murderous regime of life" in the prison within the context of capitalist transformation.[802] By describing prison work as "more horrid," Dimitrov related new forms of state violence with the establishment and continuation of capitalist social relations. Yet, does the extracapitalist, violent nature of prison exploitation mean that it had little to do with capitalism, based nominally on free wage labor?

Examining the regulatory focus of the Bulgarian state shows how ambitions for prison reform depended on the conceptualization of incarcerated bodies as a potential to be harnessed

799 Ibid, l. 16

800 Dimitrov noted that the use of prisoner labor outside the prison walls demonstrated the convergence of interests for the Bulgarian working class and prisoners. The effects of using prison labor in private enterprises, according to him, were either to bring down the cost of labor or to replace striking workers, as had happened at the 1911 dockworkers strike in Varna.

801 Ibid, 17

802 Ibid, 11

like any other industrial resource. Like the Serbian state at Topčider, Bulgaria was ultimately unsuccessful at producing a profitable carceral-industrial complex. Neither the Black Mosque nor the Topčider Inmate Economy were ground-breaking institutions. However, the carceral logic of producing docile working bodies had reverberations outside the prison walls. Penal institutions were based on the presumption that the "succesful correction" of an individual could only take place upon their integration into a social world of exploitation.

Conditional freedom was resisted by incarcerated people, who sought to subvert the carceral logic of correction through labor. Although their access to the courtyard became more limited by the 1890s, prisoners still managed to escape the watchful eye of the four guards patroling the perimeter of the Black Mosque.[803] Danchev describes one case in which a prisoner had joined an outside crew of craftsmen in the rain and managed to walk out in front of the guards' noses.[804] People imprisoned for short sentences of even a few months would also choose escape over staying.[805] Although many were captured relatively soon, others remained on the loose for longer.[806] While evening papers highlighted the dangers that convicts on the run posed, reports of their escape also show how prisoners worked together to subvert the logic of imprisonment.

The Black Mosque was just one of several other spaces of confinement in Sofia, the others being holding areas in police precincts. Much of the imprisonment in the city was confined to the precinct, where most people were held for very short periods. In 1905, 15 369

803 In Sofia, prisoners were given between one or two hours in the mornings and evenings to walk in the yard, being confined to their cells or work assignments at other times.
804 Danchev, 18
805 "Zaloven arestanin" *Vecherna poshta*, 14.5.1906, p. 3
806 Such as Pando Kostandina, a Macedonian who had stolen the city electricity workers payroll and was sentenced to six years in prison. Kostandina remained free for a year before being captured upon his return to Sofia. "Zaloven beglets ot Chernata Dzhamiya" *Vecherna poshta*, 14.4.1906, p. 3

people where held by the police, 8898 under investigation, 3704 sentenced to terms up to one week, 2 171 up to a month, 403 up to a year and 182 over one year.[807] The high throughput of arrestees, their number and the number of those held under investigation suggests that precinct holding cells were used as a harassment tactic for the poorer urban population.

Although those sentenced to longer terms were most likely to spend their sentence at the Black Mosque, detention cells and overcrowding also made escape easier for some. On Easter 1906, seven prisoners escaped from the fifth precinct detention, using the holiday celebrations as a distraction. As the prisoners were given wine and Easter eggs, and "the drunken arrestees danced and jumped," the six men broke open a door and jumped the prison wall, disappearing into the city.[808] The *Vecherna Poshta* had sensationalized the escape, naming Janos Balogh, a 20-year old man convicted of "cruel" murder, as the ringleader of the escape. Yet, all the other escapees were charged with theft, described by the police as "small-time thieves and picpockets, many times banished from the capital after imprisonment."[809] Balogh was ultimately arrested trying to cross the Serbian border in Trûn and chained up at the Black Mosque, yet other runaways remained at large.[810] The *Vecherna poshta* agreed with justice officials that poor surveillance and infrastructure in the prison were responsible for the escape. The paper had hoped that when a new jail in Sofia was completed in the fall such complaints would finally disappear.[811]

The earliest plans for a new, modern prison building in Sofia were drawn up in 1904, under the supervision of architect Petûr "Petko" Momchilov. With the aid of several colleagues,

807 "Statistika na politseyskite zatvori" *Vecherna poshta*, 24.3.1906, p. 3
808 "Izbyagali arestanti v Velikden" *Vecherna poshta*, 5.4.1906, p. 3
809 "Za ozbyagvaneto na arestantite ot sofiyskiya zatvor" *Vecherna poshta*, 6.4.1907, p. 3
810 "Zalavyaneto na Balug Yanush I dokarvaneto mu v Sofiya" *Vecherna poshta,* 7.4.1906, p. 3
811 "Za ozbyagvaneto na arestantite ot sofiyskiya zatvor" *Vecherna poshta*, 6.4.1907, p. 3

Momchilov envisioned a large prison compound composed of seven buildings and many times larger than the Black Mosque.[812] In its center was the main prison, a four storied structure whose three wings (to the northwest, northeast and southwest) all connected to a central circular tower. On its southeastern side, the central building connected through a hallway to the prison administration, which faced the street and provided the entry-point to the compound. To the sides of the administrative building was the infirmary, two living quarters, the kitchen and the stables, all comprising the southeastern third of the prison compound. These buildings were in turn enclosed by two walls, separating entirely the prison yard to the northwest from the administrative side to the southeast. Guard towers marked the four corners of the compound, built of the same material used throughout the complex – alternating layers of stone and brick. The architects' plans are unfortunately the only documents about the Sofia Central Prison preserved in the Central State Archives which pre-date the interwar period.

812 "Situatsionen plan na tsentralniya zatvor v Sofiya – Izkopa za osnovite" TsDA, f. 242k op. 5 No. 91 l. 3 The plans were often drawn by the junior architect Georgi Kunev and include the signature of other supervising architects, such as Yanaki Samardzhiev.

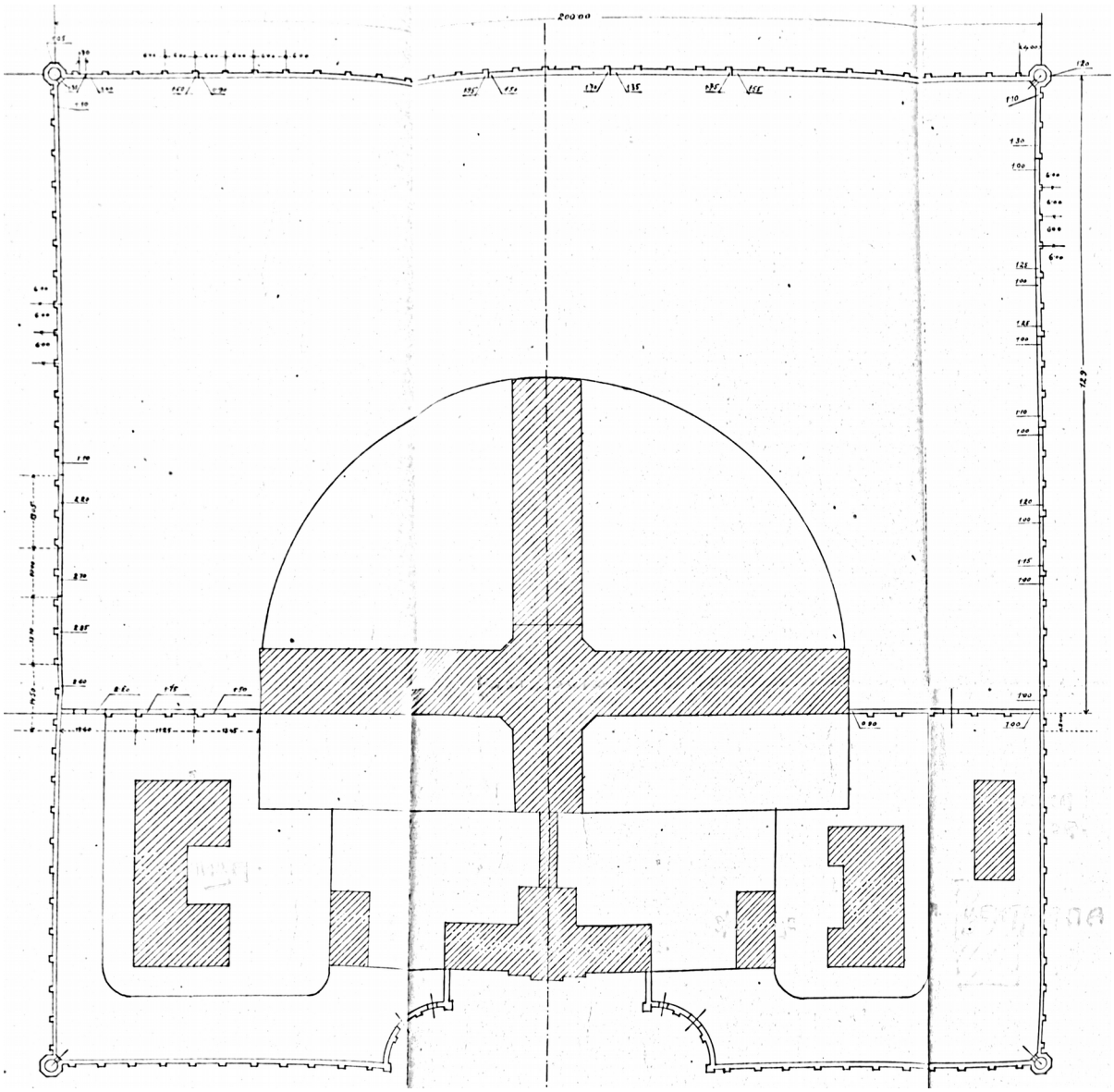

Illustration 30: Petko Momchilov's design of the Sofia Central Prison Compound, 1906.

The alternating brick and stonework that characterizes the design had brought its architect, Petko Momchilov, fame in previous years. Between 1901 and 1903, Momchilov collaborated with Yurdan Milanov to transform the Black Mosque building next to the prison into a church. The two architects had left much of the underlying brickwork exposed, using the motif as a starting point in their transformation of the building. As Momchilov began to design the new Central Prison in 1904, this architectural team also started work on two other grandiose buildings in Sofia. The Synodal Palace (completed in 1908) and the Central Mineral Baths (1913) both employed neo-Byzantinesque stylings to bridge romanticism with Art Nouveaux influences.[813] They were part of a wider trend in the city which sought to develop a national architectural style with the employment of Byzantine elements.

Within this wider trend of urban transformation lay Petko Momchilov's design for the new Central Prison, whose central domed structure and alternating layers of lighter stone and red brick complemented other representative buildings in Sofia, such as the reconstructed Sv. Kral Cathedral Church (1898-1901) and the Sofia Synagogue (1905-9).[814] The Black Mosque's name and history as a dervish dormitory signaled ties to the Ottoman past. If the national capital was to embody new visions of society, then in its very center lay a reminder that linked state violence and that which was excised. Through its neo-Byzantine facade, the new Central Prison offered an alternative, which communicated local specificity in a pan-European language. Between the brick and the stone lay the multiple ambitions of Balkan statehood to reform national institutions and individual subjects.

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813 Momchilov presenting the project for the baths to the mayor, working with Grunanger, TsDA DAS f. 1423k op. 1 ae. 14, l. 44-6; The contract with Momchilov as the head of the project was signed later, in 1906. TsDA DAS f. 1k op 3 a.e. 233 l. 40-43; For general information on the baths, see fund 1423k

814 See Illustration 31

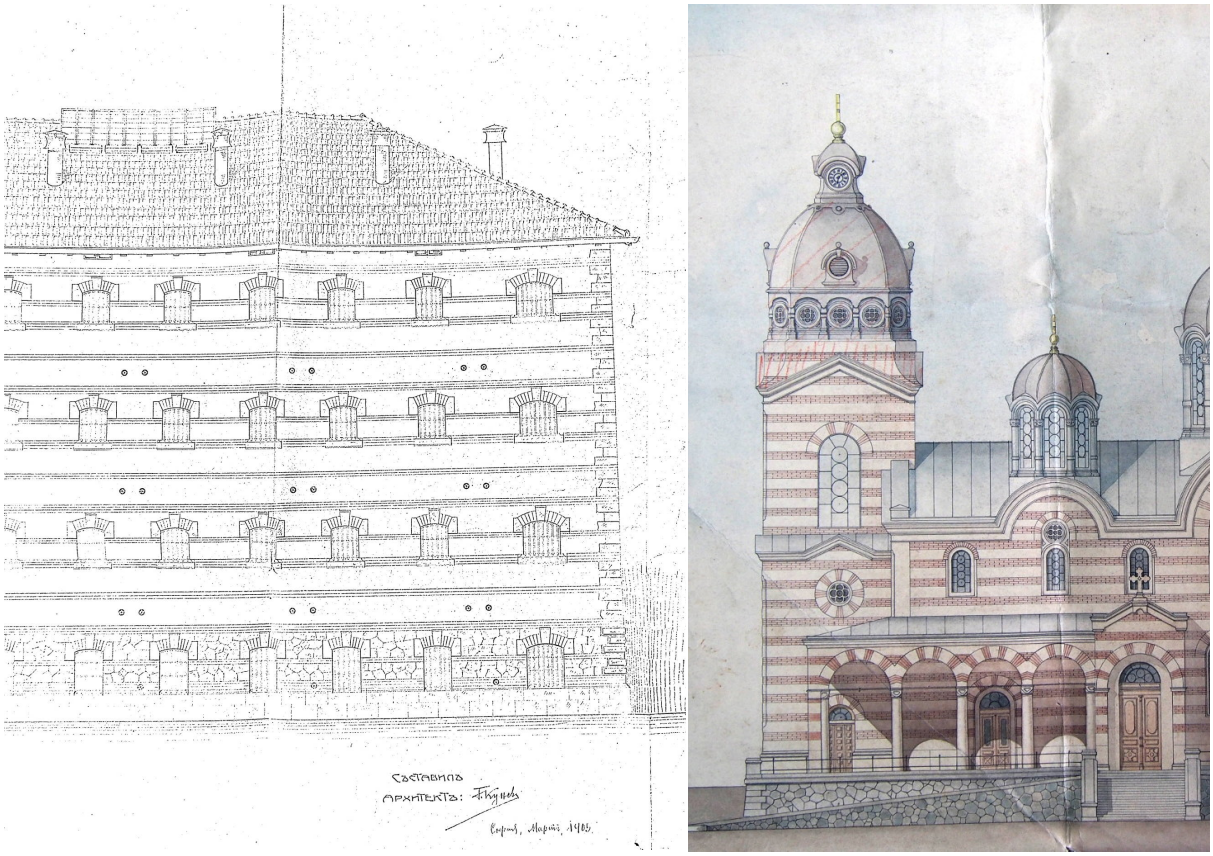

Illustration 31: [left] Petko Momchilov and Georgi Kunev. Project for the cell wing of the Sofia Central Prison, 1905; [right] Nikola Lazarov, Project for the reconstruction of the Sv. Kral church, 1898.
Both designs feature the alternating red brick and white stone facade which characterized urban renewal projects in turn-of-the-century Sofia.

Petko Momchilov's ties to Bulgarian state-building project and its project of urban renewal were familial. His brother, Mihail, reached success by winning a competition for the city sewers, discussed in chapter two. Petko's father, Ivan, was a well-regarded educational activist during the Revival period whose school educated many of the country's future leaders. Such an exalted position in the national movement may have helped Petko and Mihail gain state scholarships to study abroad. In 1884, Mihail left to study engineering in Dresden, while Petko

followed in his footsteps five years later to study architecture in Prague, an important European center of the Art Nouveaux.[815] After returning from his studies, Petko designed houses for himself and his brother on Patriarch Evtimiy boulevard, exemplifying the two mens' ambitions of upwards mobility. The more striking of the two is Mihail's, a two-storied palace with sparse motives of the neo-Rennaissance, in which the older brother made his home with Philippina Uslar-Gleichen, a German aristocrat and New York socialite.[816] As the new crème of Sofiaite society, the Momchilov brothers had it all - elite ties, wealth, and the technical know-how needed to build a truly modern Bulgarian capital.

The construction of the prison, however, was plagued with delays. A plan from the summer of 1905 shows that only the foundations had been completed.[817] Contrary to the hopes of the *Vecherna poshta,* the prison was not ready in the fall of 1906 either. As late as 1909, planners had to mark which parts of the administrative building construction were provided directly by the state, and which came from various subcontractors.[818] The pressures of responsible expenditure which shaped the logic of Bulgarian prison reform in the late 19th century continued into the twentieth. Ultimately, only two of the three projected wings were built, reducing the capacity of the prison further. Although the construction of the entire compound was finally completed in 1911, the building most likely did not serve its intended use fully until after the Second Balkan War.

According to Georgi Peev, the design of the Central Prison borrows from the ideas of the

815 Ivan Tanchev, *Bûlgarskata dûrzhava I uchenieto na bûlgari v chuzhbina 1879-1892*. (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo “Marin Drinov,” 1994), p. 123
816 Filip Panayotov, *Bûlgariya 20 vek – Almanah* (Sofia, Knigoizdatelska kûshta 'Trud', 1999), p. 814
817 TsDA, f. 242k op. 5 No. 91, l. 9
818 The plan's date is difficult to read, and it is possible that this is an earlier date. However, it is certainly after 1905, as construction has moved beyond the foundation.

French prison reformer Guillaume Abel-Blouet.[819] Together with Frederic-August Demetz, Blouet had spearheaded the project of the Mettray Penal Colony, an institution based on correction through prisoner labor.[820] While there is no direct link between Momchilov's plans and Blouet's prison projects, Peev does link French projects for prison reform and the development of the Bulgarian system. He highlights how Bulgarian officials corresponded with their French counterparts as early as 1879 to request documents on prison organization and sent a student to study "prison scence" at Aix-en-Provence in 1881. Two decades, however, separate the Sofia project from links with French prison reformers. Bulgarian attempts at regulating prisons during the 1890s also do not focus on the same issues as French authors, conceptualizing labor not as a method of rehabilitation, but a way to prevent prison rebellions, decrease the financial burden on the state, and develop industry.

As early as 1899, Albert Riviere, the secretary general of the French Société des prisons, had written about governmental plans for a new central prison in Sofia. Although the site of the building is unclear from Riviere's report (it was possibly not yet determined), its description matches Momchilov's design for the Sofia Central Prison. Riviere writes that the building would be cross-shaped, with one side set for the administration"[821] He also notes a matching number of cells compared to the Sofia plans. Taking into account Riviere's report, it is possible that the project for Sofia's Central Prison had existed prior to the assignment of Momchilov to the task in 1904. Riviere also notes that the inspiration for the new project, which is to cost 800,000 francs, was the American Auburn system. Other sources confirm that original plans for Sofia included

819 Georgi Peev, "Zatvornicheskoto delo v Knyazhestvo Bûlgariya v pûrvite desetiletiya sled Osvobozhednieto" *Istoricheski pregled*, 3-4 (1998): 89

820 For Foucault, Mettray represented the "the disciplinary form at its most extreme," the embodiment of the carceral system. Foucault, 293

821 Riviere, 1238

sequestration of the prisoners into individual cells at night, with communal work during the day, one of the main charactestics of the Auburn designs.[822]

The influences on Bulgarian carceral projects likely had multiple sources. Regardless of the idea's origins, projects for Sofia Central Prison built Europeanness by imagining the prison as a contribution in an international movement for prison reform. Ending his report with a dream of replicating French projects in Bulgaria, Riviere felt the same.[823] His report, which predates Momchilov's plans, also brings into question the extent of the architect's contribution to design of the prison. If Momchilov had contributed his technical knowledge and aesthetic vision, the layout of the prison is largely a result of developing carceral institutions in Bulgarian society.

Although the Sofia Central Prison was a massive building, it reserved relatively little space to workshops or spaces of prison labor. The majority of the edifice was designed to house prisoners in solitary cells, no buildings reserved for prison labor. If such investment went against the Sofia warden's call for greater investment, it did so because of the very contradictions of incarcerated labor, which required constant monitoring, separation, and application of violence. Envisioning forced labor as the impetus for new industries became increasingly difficult because of prisoners who refused work and escaped their incarceration. Reforms meant to foster fiscal autonomy through deals with subcontractors expanded the possibilities for prisoner abuse, filling the personal coffers of wardens, instead of their state employer. The design of the Sofia Central Prison thus focused primarily on surveillance and compartmentalization, with its myriad of observation posts and self-contained spaces for alimentary and sanitary needs. The new prison building represented the pinnacle of hygienic design, starkly different from the prison it replaced.

822 D. Georgov. *Osnovni nachala na zatvornata nauka*. (Sofia, 1930), p. 183 cited in Peev, 91
823 Riviere, 1238

The Sofia Central Prison also represented a shift in the management of incarcerated bodies, by abandoning the fiction that regimes of forced labor could be sustainable.

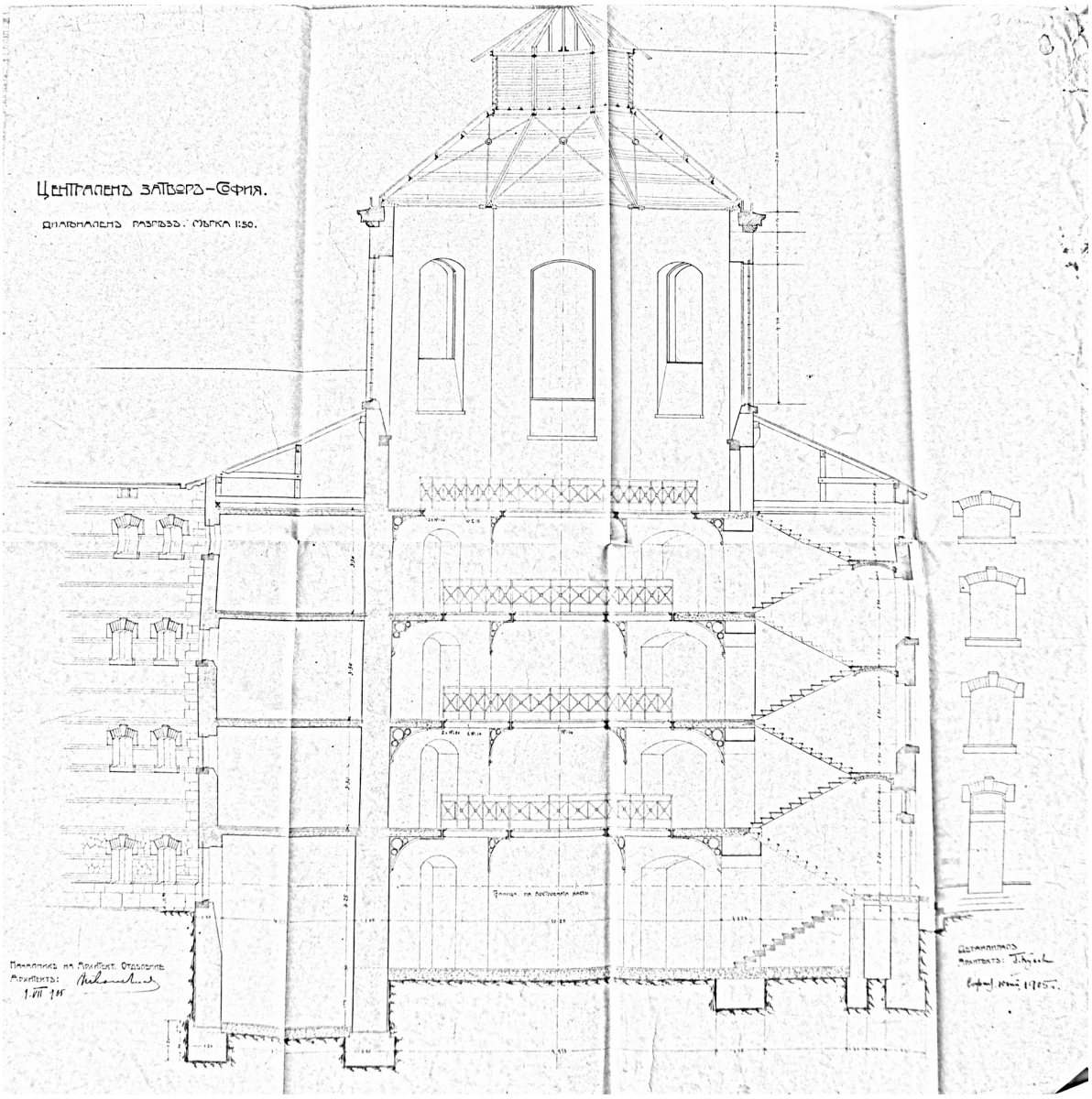

Illustration 32: Petko Momchilov's project for the Sofia Central Prison, 1905. Main tower. The design allowed guards on each floor to observe inmates in the cell wings to the left and right.

The making of the city as a carceral space was a continuing development which brought together the logic of scientific policing, population management and forced labor. Nineteenth-century urban transformation depended on the false assumption that bodies and populations could be managed without friction. Logics of efficiency, progress, social transformation and reform shaped ideas of how criminalized bodies should be imprisoned, spatially managed and utilized. Such ideas point to the limits of Balkan visions of urbanism, even in seemingly ideal spaces which depended on the extreme application of violence. Whether behind prison walls or the border of the city, bourgeois world-building ultimately depended on a constant and futile expansion of force.

Force through state violence was constructed through the participation of state officials in the international development of scientific policing, anthropometry and criminal identity. These ideas depended on creating entire techniques of subjugating bodies and manipulating data. They also required an increased police presence on city streets, creating an environment of increased violence and harassment against marginalized urban groups, such as wage and domestic laborers, ethnic minorities, or the unemployed. New prescriptions against vagrancy, hygienic infractions and disorder emerged in the same period, forming the legal backing for “cleansing” operations against undesirable populations in the city.

Marginalized groups responded to police oppression in various ways, at times embracing their own criminalization and using it to subvert elements of social order. Theft through pick-pocketing exploited police inability to fully control access to public space. In the workplace, day-laborers, service and domestic workers stole from their bosses, forming temporary and lasting alliances in order to evade the authorities or make a living outside of the logic of wage labor.

Many employed dissimulation or fraud to subvert the technological drive to identify unruly subjects. Others used the same techniques to exploit bourgeois respectability and patriarchal masculinity. Such forms of class struggle vexed scientific policemen, who interpreted the urban underclass as a danger to society itself.

Ambitions to promote good social order were the clearest in prisons, where the widespread availability of violent coercion was seen as an ideal tool to create new subjects and new social relations. In both Belgrade and Sofia, officials conceptualized prison labor as an integral part of the nation-building project. Seeing incarcerated people as an available resource, they opened factories and workshops, began agricultural production, and sent out convict labor to subcontractors. Convicts in turn threatened with strikes, engaged in foot-dragging, rebelled against their overseers and escaped captivity. The failure of these projects testifies to the limits of organizing labor through coercion and violence.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation explored the complex and contradictory nature of bourgeois world-building in the nineteenth century Balkan city. Ambitions to change the world in ways that corresponded with elite visions brought forth increased precarity, uncertainty and doubt to urban residents. These were the cities of dust and mud that weighed on the minds of contemporary observers. The "return to Europe" of the Balkan capitals was an origin story, a collective social fiction meant to mask ongoing attempts to create spaces of accumulation. The story of the Belgrade and Sofia is not one of belated, but rather uneven development.

Bourgeois world-building brought together a disparate group of nineteenth-century subjects through the social fiction of national progress. Merchant capitalists, experts, policemen, doctors, clerks, state and city officials could pursue their material interests and desires through the articulation of bourgeois ideas of space and population. The ambitions of Balkan elites centered upon various methods to transform social relations and the spaces produced by them. Below, I briefly outline how visions of world-building structured and brought together the Balkan bourgeoisie. I have sought to trace these ambitions and their consequences in each of the previous four chapters, highlighting their trajectory in nineteenth century urban change.

The first chapter of this dissertation discussed how Serbian state officials and Habsburg-educated experts came to imagine Belgrade as the future center of trade and industry. Their visions were predicated on dispossession and erasure, meant to turn urban space into a blank canvas. Justified through the discourse of "maturing for the European family," in practice, Belgrade's transformation was often based on the pursuit of interest. For the merchant elites which dominated the state apparatus, the new city was seen as a way to ensure and expand their

socio-economic primacy. The merchant bourgoeisie found useful allies in foreign-educated engineers and architects, who sought to monopolize construction practices through the institutionalization of expertise. At the bottom end of this coalition were clerks and the petty bourgeois, who saw opportunities for profit in real estate speculation. These interests contradicted each other at times, yet were brought together by the shared vision of a "city in our hands," created through the violent dispossession of the Muslim population.

The second chapter explored another, broader coalition, which transformed Sofia's cityscape at the turn of the nineteenth century by linking local officials, contractors, experts, West European bankers and factory owners. Like in Belgrade, ideas of developing the city as a center of trade and industry existed in late Ottoman and early autonomous Sofia. These initial attempts brought together municipal officials and experts, yet circumstances offered limited opportunities for urban dispossession. It was only after 1888 that European financial capital, local contractors and foreign companies were brought together through the administration of Dimitûr Petkov. The fulfillment of their interests produced a grand vision of Sofia as a "model of all cities," a space of constant urban innovation. In practice, foreign capital allowed city officials to dispossess the residents through plot speculation and street regulation, as thousands of old buildings in the city core were demolished and new ones built. Sofiaite businessmen who sought to expand into construction found it more fruitful to employ day laborers and rely on kickbacks for state contracts, as infrastructural projects engaged mostly West European heavy industry. These interests produced rapid changes in the cityscape, fostering the image of "post-Liberation" Sofia as a bustling national capital.

In the third chapter, I discussed the development and limitations of bourgeois visions of

gendered exploitation, which sought to create urban spaces based on the principle of commodified intimacy. In the second half of the nineteenth century, ideas of urban masculinity became increasingly tied with access to commodified intimate labor, both in the form of service and sex work. For experts, the city became a prime space where medicalized techniques intended to control women's bodies could be developed and applied. Through the discourses of public health and morality, policemen, doctors and city officials imagined a pervasive system of social control applied to working women in the city. As anxieties over "secret prostitution" demonstrate, such visions were limited by and through the persistent struggle of women to evade and minimize their impact. In response to such forms of struggle, new structures of violence were continuously developed, bringing forth further precarization of intimate labor. Bourgeois visions of the city as a space of erotic entertainment were limited by the necessity to police, survey and manage the everyday "toil and work" of commodified intimacy.

The fourth chapter of this dissertation discussed nineteenth-century aspirations to create carceral urban spaces through techniques of scientific policing and prison labor. For policemen, activists and jurists, the frictionless management of bodies came to be seen as an integral part of "good order." Through participation in international networks of expertise, they saw the technological refinement of state violence as a scientific, rational method of social transformation. Ideas of ushering in progress through the correct application of force were troubled in part by increasingly elaborate techniques of evasion and dissimulation employed by "unruly" urban subjects. Within confined spaces, state officials expanded upon the planners' fiction of a blank canvas in order to ignite the furnaces of industry. In prisons, they sought to restructure social relations for the purposes of production and profit by managing the labor of

incarcerated people. The prison came to be seen as an ideal urban space, where the supposedly unlimited potential to manage subjects could be harnessed for the purposes of national industry. The requirements of profitable operation and the resistance of prisoners made sure that bourgeois visions of "good and safe subjects" remained elusive, whether inside the city or behind prison walls.

While I do not argue that the narrative I have presented here is an authoritative assessment of Balkan historical development, I do believe it could be useful for further interpretations of the region's history. In particular, this dissertation gestures beyond debates surrounding modernization and nationalism. This does not suggest that such questions are not important for our understanding of the nineteenth century, whether in Southeastern Europe or other parts of the world. As discussed in the introduction, scholarship on these topics has informed my methodological approach, and the text offers explicit interpretations of both. My argument is rather that there are shifts and currents behind the rise of nation-states, both on an ideological and material level. Studying them reveals not only the similarities and differences between the lived experiences of Balkan peoples, but also the web through which they link up with world historical processes. Accumulation, labor, violence and struggle appear in these pages as nodes through which we can access different conflicts and encounter new solidarities.

The application of bourgeois visions often engendered contradiction and failure, limited on the one hand by the scope of elite ambitions, and on the other by the struggle of those who were excluded from them. While experts and officials imagined total social transformation, in practice their interests clashed as often as they coalesced. The increased application of force often produced unintended consequences, including the resistance of the imagined urban subject,

who fought back against dispossession, evaded medical examination, surveillance and imprisonment. The successes and failures of these struggles do not mark the end-points of bourgeois world-building, but rather temporary stops in the unraveling of continuous loss. The collective interests of the Balkan bourgeoisie propelled it to new visions of social transformation in the wreckage of the old.

This history of urban transformation explores the ambition and failure of the Balkan bourgeoisie to achieve its goals and take hold of the wheels of history. A growing sense of inability to change the collective circumstances of one's existence marked the experience of the nineteenth-century Balkans. Belgrade and Sofia continued to change, even as their transformation diverged significantly from the best laid plans of elites and experts. If Marx may have been mistaken about everything solid melting into air, he was certainly right to describe the bourgeois as a sorcerer who is "no longer able to control the powers of the netherworld."[824] Marshall Berman has argued that the image of the sorcerer's apprentice in the Communist Manifesto expresses a simultaneous sense of wonder and dread over the changing modern world.[825] My purpose in juxtaposing the builders of bourgeois worlds to the urban precariat is to ask: who could see the wonder, and who the dread?

While it presents momentary victories in the struggle between those who had and those who had not, the prevailing narrative of this story is loss. I have emphasized the dust and mud of urban change to challenge interpretations of the past which reify modernity as something separable from its violent origins. Ongoing projects of social transformation depend on a similar origin story, which obscures the violence they depend on and the limits of their reach.

824 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 41
825 Berman, 101

Recognizing how bourgeois worlds were built once might help us see the cracks in them today. Remembering how they were fought might show us where to chip away.

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